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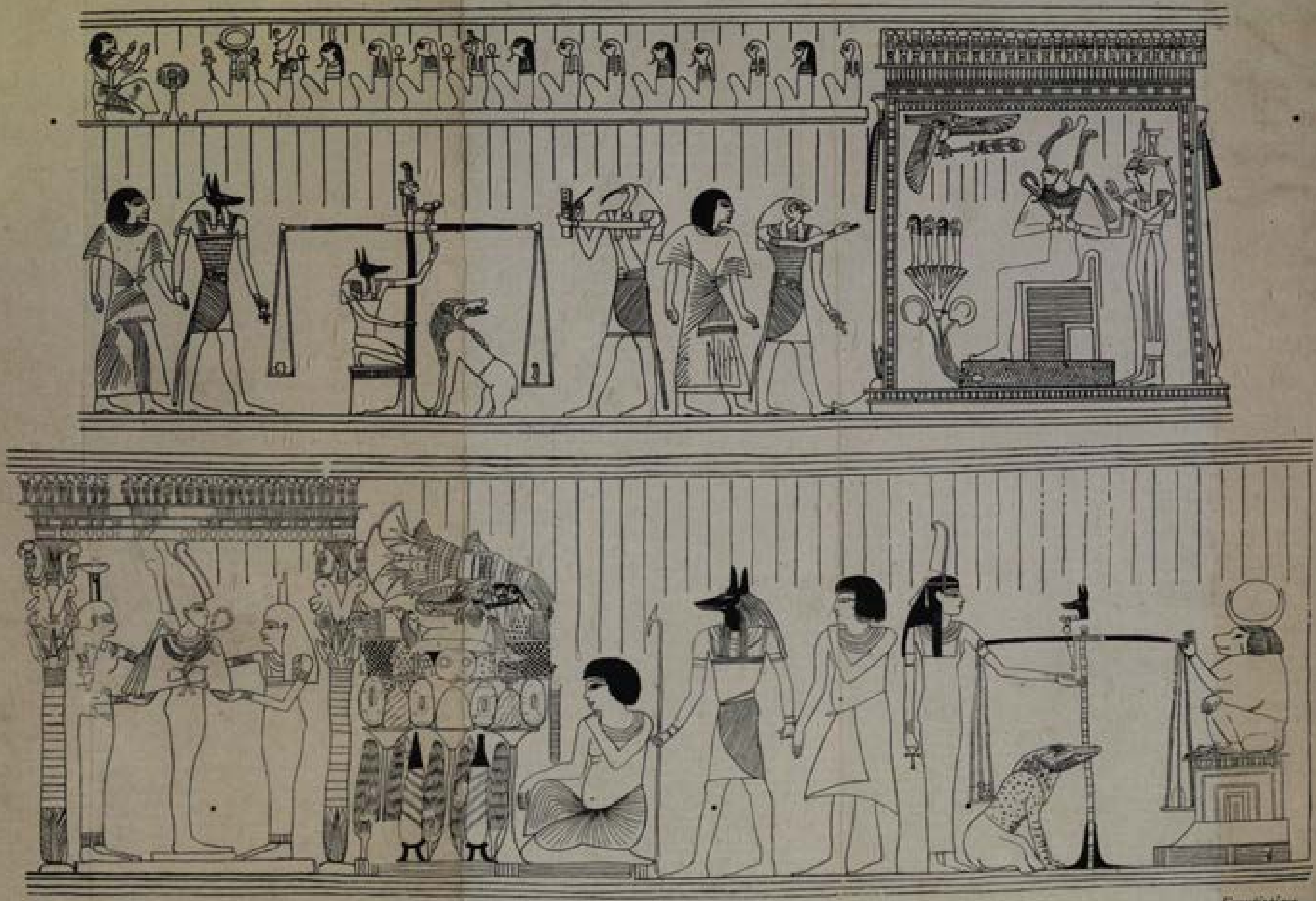

THE WEIGHING OF THE SOUL.

Pap. No. 9901 Brit. Mus. and Pap. No. II. Leyden.

Frontispiece.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

BY

H. M. TIRARD

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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PREFACE

By permission of the Trustees the author some years ago delivered some lectures to students at the British Museum, on the Egyptian Book of the Dead. Many who attended those lectures have expressed a desire to possess them in more permanent form, and it is in order to gratify that desire that the following pages have been written. Since the lectures were delivered, however, so much fresh light has been thrown on the subject by the new discoveries in Egypt, and by the work of scholars on the various texts of the Book of the Dead, that it has been found necessary to revise them entirely in order to bring them up to date.

The frequent reference that will be found to the papyrus of Ani is due to the exhibition in the British Museum of a good facsimile, which formed an excellent illustration of the various vignettes mentioned in the lectures. A translation of this papyrus with notes by Dr. Wallis Budge has since been published.

In this short treatise on the Book of the Dead the author makes no claim to original research, but attempts, as far as possible, to bring the work of scholars within the reach of all who are interested, not only in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, but also in the religious thought of the ancient world.

The lectures were inspired in the first instance by the Introduction to Prof. Naville's magnificent edition of the various texts of the Book of the Dead belonging

to the great Theban period, and any merit they possess is really due to the work of that great scholar. The illustrations are taken from Renouf and Naville's Book of the Dead published by the Society of Biblical Archæology. Those from papyri in the British Museum are reproduced by permission of the Trustees.

Grateful acknowledgment is due to Prof. Naville for his exceeding kindness in reading the manuscript, for his most valuable suggestions, and also for writing the accompanying introduction.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES

Erman	Aegypten.
Lanzone	Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia.
Maspero	Etudes de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes.
Naville	Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII bis XX Dynastie. Einleitung.
	La Litanie du Soleil.
	Religion des anciens Egyptiens.
Renouf	Hibbert Lectures.
Renouf and Naville	The Egyptian Book of the Dead. Translation and Commentary.
Revillout	La Morale égyptienne.
Schiaparelli . . .	Il libro dei Funerali degli antichi Egiziani.
Wiedemann . . .	Religion of the ancient Egyptians.

Articles by Maspero, Naville and Renouf in the Revue des Religions and in the Transactions and Proceedings of the Soc. of Bib. Archæology.

Publications of the Egypt Exploration Fund by Griffith, Naville, Petrie, Quibell, and others.

Translations of various texts published in the Records of the Past by the Soc. of Bib. Archæology, edited by Birch and Sayce.

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INTRODUCTION

THE Book of the Dead is in many respects a truthful representation of the faith of the ancient Egyptians. It is not in any way a complete work. Not only may the length of the book vary considerably, but also it is composed of portions and of fragments which have not all the same birth-place. The greatest part certainly originated from Heliopolis, nevertheless there are some fragments which belong to Abydos. In the whole work, as in the Egyptian religion, there is no exact system nor any absolutely fixed order. It presents a picture of all the phases of the future life which the deceased had before him, though no definite plan is laid down for him from which he might not swerve. In some parts the doctrine is purely pantheistic, that is, it teaches the absorption of all by the Being who pervades all, and the identification with this Being constitutes the ideal to which the deceased desires to attain. In other parts, on the contrary, we find the negation of that ideal, the human being is distinct from his creator, and must submit to be judged according to a strict righteous law, the high morality of which cannot but excite our admiration. These contrasts, these apparent contradictions, are met with at every turn.

This variety in the ideas contained in the Book of the Dead forms one of the special interests of the

book, and so much the more because this book contains almost the only religious element, which was diffused through the whole country by the side of the numerous local cults which had been established on the banks of the Nile. A Book of the Dead found at Memphis is identical with that found at Thebes; Ptah and Amen do not appear in the text, except perhaps in the titles of the deceased when he was attached to the service of one of those gods, and yet the gods of those two great towns, and the worship which was paid to them, were in no way identical.

Even in our own days the Book of the Dead has been too much neglected, owing in part to the difficulty we have in understanding the contents. Though there is no lack of copies, we are still far from a complete comprehension of these texts. In many passages the true sense, which may contain some elementary idea, escapes us because it is veiled by a strange symbolism or by metaphors, the key to which is not yet in our hands. Throughout the book also there is an element of magic which reappears continually; moreover, it is well known that with magic formulæ their mystical obscurity is often the secret of their efficiency. Nevertheless, we are able to grasp the fundamental ideas of the book; we can understand why in the other world the deceased should be anxious to have a copy buried with his mummy; we can picture the various ideals he desired to attain when he pronounced those words that were put into his mouth: a life renewed like that on this earth; the power to transport himself whither he would; the right to identify himself with Osiris and with other gods; and lastly, preservation from corruption.

These are the broad lines which Mrs. Tirard follows

in presenting this work to the English public under a form which cannot fail to arrest the interest of her readers. They will here find a profound knowledge of the Book of the Dead, a knowledge which excites our astonishment and admiration in a lady who is not an Egyptologist by profession. Mrs. Tirard has not only read, but has also diligently studied the translation of the whole of this collection of texts which but few scholars have had the courage to attack. She has not allowed herself to be discouraged by those obscure passages, where we are still so far from understanding the true sense, that the words seem only childish foolishness, or as Le Page Renouf says, "outrageous nonsense." Mrs. Tirard has succeeded very well in disentangling the fundamental ideas from this confused mass of material, which though often appearing a mere medley of religion and magic, formed the spiritual goods and chattels which the Egyptian was supposed to carry with him into the other world.

We congratulate the author of this volume on the result she has attained, and we know of no better guide for those who are desirous of entering into the thoughts of the men of those remote ages on the subject of the future life, and of understanding the ideas that appealed to their hearts.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

MALAGNY
PRÈS GENÈVE,
Christmas, 1909.

THE

BOOK OF THE DEAD

CHAPTER I

A FUNERAL IN ANCIENT EGYPT

NO nation of the ancient world has cared for their dead to the same degree as the Egyptians; their care for the dead, indeed, far exceeded their care for the living.

The tomb in ancient Egypt was of equal importance with the temple, the deceased held the same position as the god. The pyramids, immense tumuli of stone, are but the tombs of ancient kings, while the rocky sides of the limestone hills that bound the Nile valley are honeycombed with the eternal dwelling-places of princes and men of high degree. The great temples on the left bank of the river at Thebes are but the funerary chapels to the tombs of the great Theban kings, those vast subterranean galleries in the desolate valleys beyond.

No expense was too lavish, no trouble was too great, where the tomb was concerned. The greatest architects, sculptors and painters were employed to

prepare the abiding-place for the departed. The house or palace that he lived in on this earth might be of brick or of wood, it might be easily destroyed or burnt, but the house for eternity must be eternal.

Further, with regard to the body itself, both science and skill were called in to preserve it from destruction. Surgeon-priests were trained in the art of mummification, and that art was brought to the highest perfection, so much so indeed that the mummies they embalmed are still to be seen as perfect as they were four thousand years ago.

Other nations besides the Egyptians have practised the art of mummification; both the Peruvians and Mexicans mummified their dead in olden times, but compared with the Egyptian system of mummification, their systems were both rough and uncouth.

In Egypt there was no undue haste nor hurry in this important matter; seventy days did not seem to them too long a time to be occupied in the tedious, expensive process of embalmment. In the Hebrew account we read they "embalmed Jacob for forty days, and mourned him for seventy;" and again in the Egyptian tale of Setnau, it is said that "The king caused the good scribe Ptah-nefer-ka to be taken to the good dwelling till the sixteenth day, arrayed with ornaments to the thirty-fifth, and embalmed to the seventieth day." Embalmed, bandaged, adorned with jewels, amulets and flowers, the mummy was at length ready to be laid in the coffin. There were usually three coffins, one inside the other like a nest of boxes; they were decorated with more or less expense and care according to the importance of the position held by the deceased in this world. The decoration was entirely

religious; figures of the gods of the under-world, gilded wings to protect the deceased, the western mountain, representations of various myths, and above all, religious texts; such were the subjects employed for thousands of years in the decoration of the coffins.

In Ptolemaic times a painted portrait of the deceased was sometimes introduced over the head of the mummy, and in our National Gallery may be seen a whole series of these pictures, the earliest picture portraits in the world.

The reason for the great care the Egyptians took to preserve the body was based upon their belief in the life after death. They believed the human being to consist of several parts, some Egyptologists say as many as six, but there is no doubt that besides the body the three principal parts were the *Ka* or double, the equivalent of our ghost, the *Ba* or soul, and the *Khu* or luminous, the equivalent of our spirit.

The *Ka*, like our ghost, appeared with the same features and in the same clothes as the living man; he also resembled our idea of a ghost in being immaterial; he lived on this earth with his master while alive, and afterwards he lived in the tomb, which was specially prepared for him as his future home. As he required a material support while there, he might desire to live in the body of the deceased, and therefore its preservation and safety were most important to his happiness.

Notwithstanding all their care of the body, the Egyptians realized that the mummy was still fragile, and that it was possible for accidents to happen which might result in its destruction; they accordingly made preparations that in such a case the *Ka* might not be

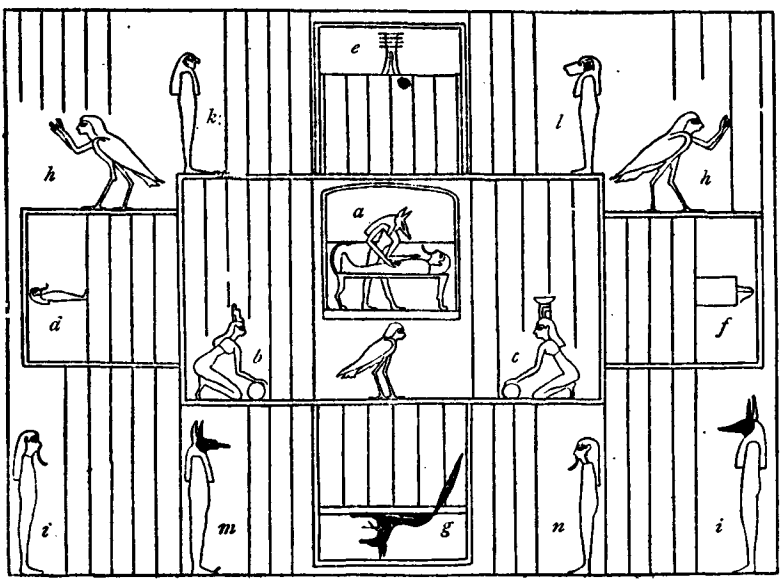
left without a body. In the more ancient tombs, the *mastabahs* of the early dynasties, a chamber was prepared called the *Serdab*, hidden deep in the rock or masonry, and in this chamber were buried portrait statues of the deceased, alternative bodies for the *Ka*. These chambers were connected with the funeral chapel by air-holes or tubes, which formed a way of entrance or exit for the *Ka*.

In addition to these *Ka* statues, there have been found in the recent excavations at Ghizeh and at Abusir one or two heads of stone;* these heads are not broken off from statues, they are complete in themselves, finished off and polished at the neck. It is possible that these heads were buried in the tombs as an additional support for the double. The head was the most important part of the body, and the head of the statue or the head of the mummy might very easily be broken. The life of the double might then be endangered, for it seems doubtful whether the Egyptians believed even his existence to be possible without a body in which he could reside. If all else failed him, however, the head might be sufficient; the head was under the special protection of the great gods, the head became therefore a guarantee of his future existence. It is true very few of these stone heads have been found, but it is equally true that they could easily have been removed or broken by the tomb plunderers.

The tomb, the eternal dwelling-place of the *Ka* or double, was not left bare of the necessaries of life; all the furniture, the tools and various utensils, all the vases and pottery, from the coarse water jug to the finest painted ware, the clothes and wigs, the hairpins,

* "Les Têtes de Pierre," Naville, Genève, 1909.

amulets and jewellery, the pots of paint to adorn the face, the games and children's playthings, all these things and many others that we see in such numbers in our museums, come from the tombs, and were prepared for the *Ka*. Even the food that he was accustomed to eat was made ready for his future use,



Pap. No. 10010, *Brit. Mus.*

FIG. 1.—THE TOMB, THE HOUSE OF THE KA.

and roast chickens and cakes of bread are still to be found in the tombs laid out for his meal.

The dry climate and the sand of Egypt have preserved all these mementoes to the present day, and from the preparations that were made for the future life of the *Ka*, we can picture to ourselves the every-day

life of the dwellers in the Nile valley, thousands of years before our era.

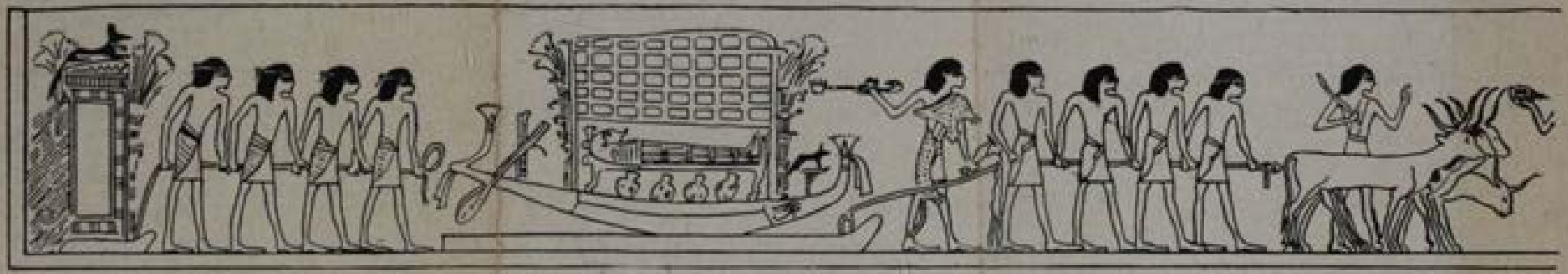
The life of the *Ka* in the tomb was therefore a continuation of the life on earth; death, according to the Egyptian belief, was a mere accident which barely interrupted it. The same idea that the future life was but a continuation of this life is carried out in the decoration of the walls of these early tombs; here we see pictured the earthly life of the man, the sowing and reaping of the fields, the boating, fowling and fishing which he loved. All the trades are also represented, shoe-making, boat-building, pottery-making, even the baking of bread and the cooking of food. To the *Ka* these pictures were magical; as he looked at them they became realities; his corn was sown and was reaped, his shoes were made, his food was cooked, he boated and he fished, he "saw good sport in the house of eternity."

The *Ka* was not left without attendants, for buried with the mummies were numbers of little figures which have been called *Ushabti* or Answerers: they formed a *corvée* of fellaheen to do work for the *Ka*, his servants who should answer his every call and make his life the happy *dolce far niente* which every true Egyptian loved, and still loves.

Thus in these ancient tombs of the early dynasties the religious element was almost entirely wanting; there was, indeed, on the west wall of the tomb chapel, a stela with prayers and representations of offerings, but these prayers, though addressed to the gods, were always for earthly blessings for the *Ka*. On the other hand, the pyramid texts of the same period are entirely religious; they were intended exclusively for the use of

Pap. No. III. 36, Louvre.

FIG. 2.—THE FUNERAL PROCESSION—THE MOURNERS.



Pap. No. 9901, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 3.—THE OXEN DRAGGING THE MUMMY TO HIS LAST HOME.

To face page 19.

the king, and show us that the king, who had been worshipped as a divinity even during his lifetime, was after death identified with the great gods of the Egyptian pantheon. In later times this privilege was extended to all classes, and the man of lower rank, in fact every man that died, if he could afford the necessary rites and ceremonies, might be identified with the gods in the other world. To ensure this identification, to preserve the deceased from annihilation, and to enable him to enjoy all that was provided for him in the tomb, a very elaborate ritual was performed at the funeral. These funeral ceremonies were ordered with the most minute care for detail, nothing was left to chance; the slightest departure from the ritual might have dire consequences for the deceased, hence the greatest care was taken to perform every particular rite according to the rule laid down by the priests.

Death had claimed the body of the deceased, and this body was now a mummy, bound up in bandages, incapable of any action whatsoever; he who had been a living man could now neither talk nor eat, he was both blind and dumb. The most complicated funeral ceremonies were therefore necessary in order to give him back the powers he possessed when alive, and the rites used were those said to have been devised and used by Horus to raise his father Osiris from the dead. The ceremonies took place in the chapel of the tomb or on the raised platform in front of the tomb. The chief actor or master of the ceremonies, with a roll of papyrus in his hand, directed the order of the proceedings, and assisted by an official called the *servant*, he showed each performer where to stand and prompted each in the part he had to recite. The principal actors were first

of all, the son of the deceased, "his son who loves him," and one called the *friend*, who might be chosen from amongst the friends of the deceased, or who might be appointed by them as their representative. Further, there were the two chief mourners, a tall figure who represented the goddess Isis and a short one in the form of the goddess Nephthys, the two sisters of Osiris; there was also a priest to kill the sacrifices. The other performers may perhaps be called the supernumeraries, at one time they formed the bodyguard of Horus, at another they represented the inhabitants of the nether-world.

It is probable that the same observances were followed more or less at most funerals, though the numbers of the performers might vary with the earthly position and riches of the deceased. Although almost any number of actors might be introduced into the scenes which took place outside the tomb, such as the sacrifice and the funeral feast, very few could take part in those which were held in the interior.

When all had taken their places, the performance of the divine mystery began. The mummy was Osiris, the mourners his two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, while Anubis and Horus and the other gods of the Osiris myth stood near him. The mummy as a rule never had more than four persons round him at the same time, Horus and his three children, the gods of the four cardinal points, or those who had in old times officiated at the obsequies of Osiris. These four personages might from time to time take different parts according to the exigencies of this ancient mystery play.

The actions and speeches of these performers were written down in a special ritual called the "opening of

the mouth and of the eyes of the statue of the deceased" or "of the deceased" merely. This ceremony ought always by rights to have been performed in the interior of the tomb in the so-called "Hall of Gold," that is, in the burial chamber itself. The burial chamber, however, was generally at the bottom of a well varying in depth from ten to a hundred feet, and it would have been impossible for the priests to descend or ascend this well, according to the requirements of the ritual. The mummy was therefore represented by a statue, and one of the chambers belonging to the funerary chapel, or in the case of a small tomb, the little platform outside the entrance, became the "Hall of Gold" for the occasion.

The statue was placed facing south on a layer of sand four to five inches thick, which represented the western mountain or the desert, the *servant* or *friend* then entered, a censer in his hand, and walked round the statue repeating, "Thou art pure, thou art pure, O Osiris N." He next sprinkled the statue with the water from four vases, invoking the four gods of the cardinal points; the object of this purification was to render the deceased fit to present himself before each of these deities who presided in the four great divisions of the sky.

This libation was supposed to purify his bones, and to give him the use of his head, which had been rendered useless by the process of embalmment. The purification by water was repeated twice, the second time by water in vases of a different shape called the *red* vases. Religious ceremonies were almost always repeated twice, for Egypt was supposed to be divided into two worlds, the land of the south with the white crown, and the

land of the north with the red crown. The deceased, therefore, required the water of the south and the water of the north, the wine and beef of the south and of the north, the incense also of the two worlds.

The ceremony of the purification by incense followed that of the purification by water. Five grains of incense were presented to the deceased, twice to the mouth, twice to the eyes, and once to the hand, the number of presentations being the same as that of the grains of the incense. This ceremony having been repeated twice, once for the south and once for the north, it was repeated yet a third time with incense from foreign parts, the "divine incense" probably from the land of Punt in Arabia, the "divine land," the land of the east to which the Egyptians looked back as the land of their origin. The litany of purification was repeated each time that the incense was presented to the deceased, and the outside listeners heard again and again the monotonous refrain, "Thou art pure, thou art pure."

These repeated purifications were but the preliminary rites; the important part of the service now followed. Two officials in their robes of office enter the funerary chamber, which had been re-arranged before their entrance. The *servant* had wrapped himself up in a long cloak, and laid himself down to sleep on a rough couch, while the *friend* standing behind the statue watches the sleeper, who after a short time gets up and sits crouching on the bed. The four now represent the four children of Horus, and the *servant* breaks the silence with the remark, "I have seen my father in all his forms"; the three reply, "Is not this your father?" The dialogue continues with mysterious allusions to Osiris.

Maspero believes that the object of this part of the ceremony was to give back to the deceased his Shadow. He thinks that the tall, black figure with white eyes in the tomb of Seti I. probably represents the appearance of the Shade or Shadow, which is to be united to the deceased, that he may be complete for his new life. The Shadow formed part of the entire man, though not so important a part as the double or the soul. Accompanied by his Shadow, the deceased could be present at the funeral sacrifice and receive his portion. The actions and words of the performers in this drama will never, however, be entirely understood until we know the details of the Osirian myth and the ceremonies supposed to be performed by Isis, Nephthys, Horus, and their companions at the burial of Osiris.

The ceremony of the opening of the mouth and eyes which next followed was accompanied by sacrifices of oxen, gazelles, and birds. The description that has come down to us is very dramatic; the *servant* rises, throws off his cloak, and dons an ephod reaching from his neck to his waist; he then takes a short stick, the head of which is formed into a lotus bud. His three companions assume the name of "guardians of the body," and the four again represent the four children of Horus. The *servant* salutes the statue, and says: "I have desired my father, I have sacrificed to my father, I have modelled his great statue." The others reply: "These are the things that are of use to my father." One of the guardians says, "Work his head," and the others reply in chorus, "Strike thy father." The *servant* now touches the head of the statue with the instrument for the opening of the mouth and eyes. "I have come," he says, "to embrace thee, I, Horus;

I have pressed thy mouth, I, Horus thy son, who loves thee"; and with his stick in the left hand, he raises his right hand and touches the mouth with his little finger and passes behind the statue, whilst the guardians take the place he had formerly occupied in front, saying, "Strike my father, behold it is praiseworthy to strike my father, the statue of the Osiris N." They return to their places, and the *servant* says to one of the guardians, "I am Horus-Set, I do not allow thee to cause the face of my father to shine." It was the privilege of the son to render the last duties to his father, and the *servant* representing Horus, the son of Osiris, will not allow these duties to be performed by a stranger. This ceremony being over, the *servant* lays aside the stick and the ephod, and puts on a panther skin, the priestly garment, to assist at the funeral sacrifices.

The custom of sacrifices at funerals was probably based upon the myth of the destruction of the enemies of Osiris by Horus. We learn in the myth that Set, in the form of a pig, had seized the eye of Horus and was about to devour it. Horus saved his eye, but the partisans of Set transformed themselves into various animals; these were decapitated by Horus, and in the funeral sacrifices Horus became again the victor over the enemies of Osiris, which were strangled before his eyes; he slew them afresh when the sacrificial animals were killed.

During the ceremonies described above the victims waited outside, the oxen for the sacrifice being probably those that had been employed to drag the mummy to his last home. When the "children of Horus" came out of the interior of the tomb, the priest had already prepared one of the oxen for the sacrifice, and after this had been

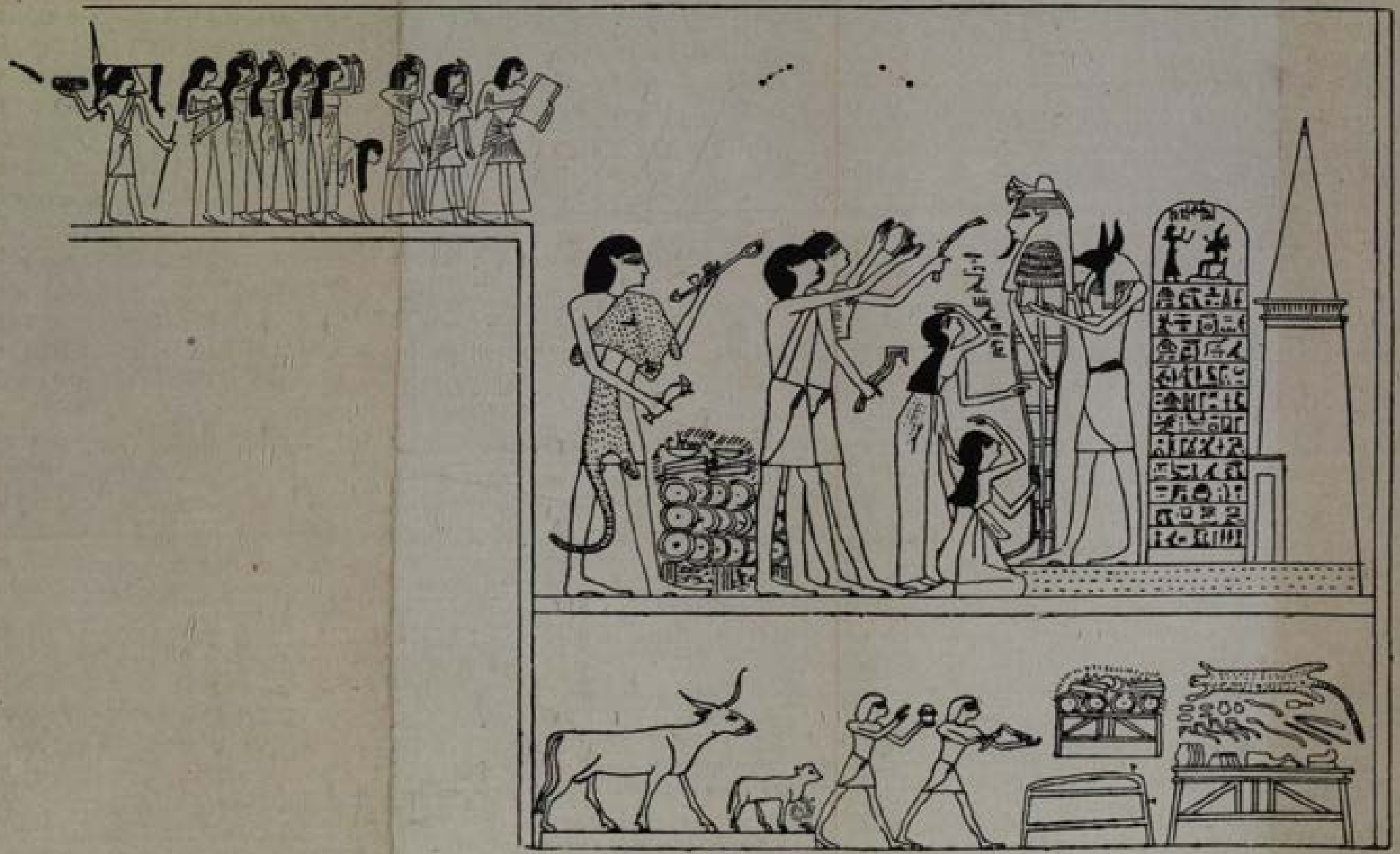
accomplished, two gazelles and a goose were also brought forward, and their heads being cut off, the officiating priest says: "I have led thine enemies to thee; I have sacrificed them that no one of them may attack this god." The priest who performs the sacrificial rite then gives the heart and the thigh of the ox to two attendants. who run into the tomb and lay them on the ground before the statue, saying, "I present to thee the thigh, the eye of Horus." All that was good was supposed to proceed from the eye of Horus, all that was evil from the eye of Set; any offering to the deceased, therefore, such as the thigh of the ox, or even water or wine, milk or perfume, might be called the eye of Horus.

The *servant* now picks up the thigh and proceeds to rub, or appear to rub, the mouth and eyes of the statue with the bleeding flesh in order to open the mouth and eyes of the deceased, and prepare him to partake of the sacrifice. During this performance he recites: "O statue of the Osiris N., I come to embrace thee; I, thy son, have pressed thy mouth; I, thy son who loves thee, I have opened thy mouth. Thy mother weeping has struck thee, but thy mouth remained closed; it is I who have restored thee, and thy teeth also, O statue of the Osiris N.; it is I who have separated thy lips with the thigh, the eye of Horus."

This preliminary ceremony, however, was supposed only to succeed in exciting the appetite of the deceased; the true opening of the mouth followed. Several instruments were used for this purpose. The two most important were the adze of the south and the adze of the north; these had wooden handles and metal blades; each had its own mystic name. They were the divine instruments that had first been employed by Anubis at the funeral

of Osiris, and were made in the shape of the thigh of an ox. The *servant* passes the blades across the mouth and the eyes of the statue, saying: "Thy mouth was ever closed, but I have restored thy mouth, also thy teeth, O statue of the Osiris N. I have separated thy lips, O statue of the Osiris N. I have opened thy mouth with the adze of Anubis, the thigh of iron, which opens the mouth of the gods. O Horus, open the mouth of the statue of the Osiris N. O Horus, separate the lips of the statue of the Osiris N. Horus has opened the mouth of the Osiris N. with the instrument that he employed to open the mouth of his father, the mouth of Osiris, with the divine thigh which he used to open the mouth of the gods. Thou openest the mouth of the Osiris N., and he comes and he goes; his body is with the great Ennead of gods, in the great temple at Heliopolis, and there he takes the diadem with Horus, the master of mankind." At the end of this prayer the cry "O father, father," is repeated four times.

The lips and the eyelids of the deceased are now supposed to be opened; but the wound is not healed, and therefore as yet the deceased can neither speak nor eat. To complete the work of the sacred adze, another instrument was required, called the *Oirhikau* (powerful in magic). The *Oirhikau* was a piece of metal in the form of a serpent, with the head of a ram surmounted by the uræus. This instrument was a magic wand; probably the same that we read of in the Hebrew record, when Moses stood before Pharaoh, and both he and the magicians are said to have cast down their rods, which immediately became living serpents. Numbers of these magic wands were buried in the tombs, and may be



Pap. No. 9901, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 4.—FUNERAL RITES—THE OPENING OF THE MOUTH.

To face page 27.

seen in most museums. Their name indicates the great power with which they were credited; it was believed that they could not only open the eyes and mouth of the deceased, but also give him dominion over the gods.

In the funeral ceremony the *servant* seized the *Oirhikau* and brandished it three times; he then applied the ram's head at the end of it to the mouth and eyes of the statue, while the officiating priest said: "Thy mouth was always closed; I have restored it to health; also thy teeth, O statue of the Osiris N. Nut has raised thy head, Horus has taken his diadem and his virtues, then Set has taken his diadem and his virtues, then the diadem has come out of thy head, and has brought the gods to thee. Thou hast bewitched them, thou hast made them live; thou art become the strongest, and thou hast performed the passes of life behind the statue of the Osiris N., that he may live and not die. Thou hast joined the doubles of all the gods, and thou art lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, sovereign amongst the gods and their doubles. Shu, son of Tum, it is he, the Osiris N.; if he lives, thou dost live. He has armed Shu, he has extolled Shu, he has exalted Shu, and he has made thee sovereign Shu; and thou hast performed the passes of life behind the statue of the Osiris N., so that the virtue of life is behind him, so that he may live and not die. O statue of the Osiris N., Horus has separated thy lips, he has opened both thy eyes with the divine adze and the *Oirhikau* which was used to separate the lips of all the gods of the south." The chorus then repeats four times, "O father, father."

Maspero's explanation of this speech is very interesting. He says that the gods, according to Egyptian theology, possessed two different kinds of power. The

first was innate like the force of life, and the other exterior to themselves like the force of sorcery or magic. By virtue of sorcery or by magical incantations they obtained dominion over each other, in the same way that on earth man reigned over his fellow-men. The god who conjured his colleagues with the necessary formulæ, or who used the influence of certain magical talismans against them, obliged them to work for him. The goddess Nut had, for instance, raised the head of her son Osiris in order that Horus and Set should place upon his head their crowns, the crown of the south and the crown of the north. She might render the same service to all the deceased; the magic contained in these crowns or in the *uræus* which adorned them would then bewitch the gods, and oblige them to live for the deceased and to employ their power in his interest alone. The innate virtue of the gods seems to have been regarded as a sort of spirit or fluid, analogous to that which used to be called magnetic fluid; this was transmitted by the laying on of hands, or by magical passes exercised on the back of the neck or spinal column of the patient.

The gods, constrained by the sorcery which governed them, placed themselves behind the statue with the officiating priest; they laid their hands on the deceased or on his statue, and performed the magical passes which were bound to reanimate him and infuse into him the spirit of life, as well as their own divine spirit.

The deceased was thus rendered all-powerful, and was able to rule over the two worlds of Upper and Lower Egypt; the priest even identified him with one of the most popular of the divinities of the valley of the Nile, Shu the son of Ra. As Shu he could perform on

his own statue the magical passes which would prevent his dying again, thanks to the virtue contained in the divine adzes and in the *Oirhikau*, the instruments used to open the mouths and eyes of the gods, when they had themselves suffered the penalty of death.

After the first sacrifice was complete the second began. The ceremonies were shorter, but of equal importance with the first. The mouth, though open, could not move easily; no living colour animated the lips. In the second ceremony the son of the deceased took the more important part, the part of the god Horus. The *servant* brought him into the tomb and obliged him to bow to the statue of his father. After some recitations the son took a chisel like the chisel of a sculptor, raised it with both his hands and touched the mouth of the statue. Afterwards the *servant* did the same with some red stones, probably of jasper or carnelian; these stones were called the blood of Isis and were supposed to give colour to the lips.

Another amulet was next employed to give movement to the jaws. The *servant* brought a basket or vase filled with a substance rolled in pellets, probably composed of butter or of cheese; he chose out one of these pellets and presented it to the mouth of the statue, saying, "Osiris N., I present to thee the eye of Horus. Take it; let it not escape thee when thou takest the pellet into thy mouth." The *servant* then seized an ostrich plume and stroked the face of the statue with it four times.

The ostrich plume played a great part in many Egyptian ceremonials, in their coronation and other festivals, as well as in this funeral rite. In the latter ceremony it can scarcely be regarded as merely used

as a feather to moisten the lips of the statue, or as a fan to disperse the flies; it was rather a sign that all had been rightly accomplished. As the symbol of the goddess of truth and justice, it would indicate that all was in order, and that up to that point no necessary ceremony had been omitted, no unnecessary ceremony had been interpolated, everything was performed according to law and justice.

Ages have now elapsed since the old Egyptians adored Maat, the goddess of truth, and yet her symbol has possibly reached us, for our heir to the crown still wears the crest of a threefold ostrich plume, and this plume is also still *de rigueur* in a lady's court dress. An ostrich plume is essentially an Eastern decoration; and even if the legend were true that this crest belonged to the blind king of Bohemia, and that the Black Prince assumed it after the battle of Crecy, there is certainly no more difficulty in the supposition that it reached Bohemia from the East, than in the recent identification of the Austrian eagle with the insignia of the Hittites.

There is, however, no contemporary authority for this story, the first mention of it only occurs early in the seventeenth century.* The crest of John, King of Bohemia, as seen on his seal, was not an ostrich plume, but two wings of a vulture of enormous size. Doubtless this crest was of Egyptian origin, for, as we shall see, the vulture was the symbol of Thut, the protecting mother goddess of ancient Egypt, and the vulture amulet was worn as a talisman by the dead (see p. 79). The ostrich feathers worn by the Black Prince were probably inherited by him from his mother, Queen Philippa, as they are first mentioned in a list of plate

* "Camden's Remains," Ed. 1605, p. 161.

(43 Ed. III. 1369). On the bottom of a large silver-gilt enamelled dish of the "Queen's plate" is a black escutcheon with ostrich feathers.* The Black Prince displayed the feathers singly and upright, like the Egyptian symbol of justice that we see in the judgment scene on the head of the goddess standing by the balance, or in one of the scales of the balance itself. (See Frontispiece.) The feathers were first grouped by Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII., and from the time of the Stuarts they have been regarded as the special badge of the princes of Wales. As a symbol of truth and justice the ostrich feather might well have been chosen as a royal crest, the highest prerogative of a king being to dispense justice to all his subjects.

To return to the funeral ceremonies of ancient Egypt those at the conclusion of the service were mostly a repetition of those that preceded them. Before the second sacrifice the son took leave of his father. The priest seized him by the right arm, and with his left hand he forced him to bend his head before the statue; he then delivered him to the care of another official, who was charged to lead him back into this world. The bull of the north was sacrificed, the goose and the gazelles were offered up, and again the long prayers were recited, and again the end was marked by the chorus, "O father, father," the Amen of the ancient Egyptians.

The opening of the mouth and eyes formed only part of the manipulation to which the statue was subjected. He was anointed, perfumed and clothed; he was invested with the insignia of rank; he was crowned with wreaths of flowers. Like all the nations of the East, the ancient Egyptians loved oils and perfumes, which

* "Archæologia XXXII.," p. 355.

were employed not only to rejoice the heart of the deceased, but also to give him the suppleness and vigour of renewed life and youth.

Seven or more different oils or essences are enumerated which were to be given to the deceased, and in some cases the recipes are so exact that M. Loret, with the assistance of Messrs. Rimmel and Donère, has actually succeeded in making up two of these old perfumes.

At the anointing which formed part of the funeral ceremony, the *servant* put the first finger of his right hand into the pot of oil and daubed the face of the statue; a prayer followed that the deceased might feel no pain, as Horus had felt no pain when his eyes returned to his body. In many of these prayers there was much alliteration, and many puns and plays on words that are quite impossible to understand at the present day. The ceremony concluded with a long recitation by the officiating priest: "O perfume that art on the forehead of Horus, place thyself on the forehead of the deceased that he may be perfumed by thee, and that he may receive virtue from thee. Grant that he may become again master of his body; grant that his eyes may be opened, that all the luminous ones may see him, that they may all hear his name. O deceased, I fill thine eye with oil, I fill thine head with oil from the Eye of Horus. When it is placed on thy forehead, when the goddess Sekhit has made it for thee, when the god Seb has decreed to thee his heritage, then shalt thou have the true voice (or thou shalt be triumphant) amongst the guardian gods; thou wearest the crown amongst the gods; those who are still upon the earth extol thee. Anubis, the opener of the ways of the South and of the North, goes before thee to open thy ways against thine

enemies; for them thou hast taken thine Eye (the oil), and uniting thyself to it, thou hast given it into the care of thy guardians."

It would be useless to add more particulars of this funeral service, which, though most complicated, is very interesting; it may indeed be regarded as the earliest mystery play in existence. Details of the ritual are to be found inscribed on a coffin at Turin belonging to a royal scribe of the twentieth dynasty, and on a papyrus in the Louvre of much later date belonging to the Theban lady Sai, as well as in the tomb of King Seti I., where there are representations of priests dressing, oiling, and feeding the statue of the king.

Though kings and nobles might rejoice in the knowledge that after death they would benefit by this complicated ritual which was performed at their funerals, it was naturally impossible that it should be employed for one and all. The poor had to be content with much simpler rites, for the "pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious" woe varied as much in olden as in modern days. In ancient Egypt, as well as in our own time, a splendid funeral might be awarded to a man as a reward for his good deeds or for the services he had rendered to king or country.

A papyrus of the time of the twelfth dynasty * relates the adventures and wanderings of Sinuhe, the distinguished courtier of King Amenemhat I., who, after the death of his master, spent many years in banishment amongst the Bedouin Arabs, where he lived in great favour with their sheikhs. Feeling the approach of old age, we read that Sinuhe longed to return to his native land and to be buried in Egypt. King Usertsen I., who

* See "Contes Populaires," Maspero.

had succeeded to the throne, on receiving his piteous appeal to be allowed to return, writes to him most graciously, promising him a high position at court, and at his death a magnificent funeral. With regard to the funeral, he promised him that oxen should drag him to the grave, singers should go before, minstrels should follow after, the funeral dances should be performed; mourners should weep for him, sacrifices should be offered for him, and all the customary liturgies should be recited aloud at his tomb.

Sinuhe returns, and the king receives him, reinstates him in his former rank, and allows him to build a beautiful palace in which to spend the rest of his life. As a further token of his favour the king orders a pyramid to be built for him amongst the funerary pyramids of the courtiers. The chief surveyor chooses the site, the chief architect designs the plan, the chief sculptor carves the stone, while materials for the decoration are sought for throughout the land of Egypt. When all the preparations were complete, Sinuhe relates that he employed labourers to make a garden round the tomb with a lake and summer house, as was fitting for a courtier of the first rank, and the king himself placed in the tomb a statue adorned with gold and silver.

Sinuhe's desire to die and to be buried in his native country was to a great extent due to his anxiety about the welfare of his soul after death. To Sinuhe, as to all ancient Egyptians, the immortality of the soul was never a matter of doubt; death could only touch the material body. We speak of "death from natural causes," but in ancient Egypt death was unnatural—an assassination due to visible or invisible agencies, a blow given from without by an evil spirit who succeeded

at last in slaying his enemy. Death of the body, however, could never mean death of the double or death of the soul. In the early tombs of the people, the future life and happiness of the double is represented as merely a continuation of the happiest earthly life they could imagine, but they seem to have taken but little thought for the soul. In later times the future of the soul became of greater importance in their ideas, and this elaborate funeral ritual was doubtless performed for the benefit of both soul and double.

The importance of funeral rites was not confined to ancient Egypt; even amongst the Greeks the dead were supposed to wander as shades amongst the living, unless they were admitted into the kingdom of Pluto by virtue of funeral services. In Ancient Egypt, however, the soul needed yet more help than he could gain even from these funeral ceremonies, for though the future of the *Ka* was bound up with this world, the soul departed to another world, a world full of unknown dangers and difficulties.

The religious inscriptions and representations in the later tombs were intended to help the soul in his course through the Hidden World; these inscriptions were graven on his coffin, on the bandages with which the mummy was bound, on rolls of papyrus buried with him, and nine out of ten of all these religious texts belong to one book, the book that has been called the Book of the Dead. This is not the Egyptian title of the book, but in one sense it may be said to be a true one; it is a book for the use of the deceased; it was therefore buried with him in the other world, for on the possession of this book his happiness and, indeed, his very safety might depend.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND PURPOSE OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

IT has been well said that the most important event in the life of an ancient Egyptian was his own funeral; the funeral ritual described in the previous chapter explains in some degree the truth of this saying. The funeral was the initiation into a new life, into a larger, broader existence, into a world unbounded by time and space, a world of which the old Egyptian ideas were at the same time most vague and undefined, and yet were confused by an abundance of minute and contradictory detail.

Our knowledge of the future world of the ancient Egyptians is gathered chiefly from the so-called Book of the Dead, for the possession of this talisman was deemed so precious to the soul, that for thousands of years it was a general custom to bury a copy or some part of a copy of this book with the mummy. In some cases one chapter is found alone, while in others the number may vary so greatly, that this so-called book may consist of as many as a hundred chapters or more. The writing in some copies may be rough and indistinct, while in others it is finished with the greatest care; the question of expense had, without doubt, a great deal to do with the matter. The survivors gave of their best

to secure the happiness and safety of the deceased, but though the rich members of noble or princely families could give of their abundance, and pay for the best work to be done exclusively for themselves, the poor could only give of their poverty and buy a ready-made copy, into which for a consideration the scribes would insert the name of him who was gone.

The vignettes, as the drawings at the heads of the chapters are called, were evidently originally designed to illustrate the action of the text that follows, but they are sometimes entirely omitted, and when present they vary greatly in different copies, both as to their place and as to their workmanship; in some they are but rough scrawls, while in others they are beautifully finished pictures, both well drawn and finely coloured. When art was most flourishing, as, for instance, about 1400 B.C., at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth dynasty, the vignettes were usually beautifully painted; after this period they declined, but later, when a revival of art took place under the Saïtes, about 600 B.C., we find again a great improvement in the vignettes of the Book of the Dead. In many cases the painters of the vignettes were not the same men as those who prepared the text. The vignettes may be very fine, and the text, added by a second-rate scribe who did not understand what he was writing, may be very poor. Naturally, in these copies, the vignettes do not always fit into their right places, nor always illustrate the chapters above which they are placed. The funeral procession, scenes from the under-world, figures of the gods, representations of various myths, and the weighing of the soul of the deceased, are some of the more important subjects that they represent.

The texts of the Book of the Dead may be divided into three groups :—

I. The texts of the Pyramid age collected and translated by Maspero ; to these may be added later texts before the eighteenth dynasty which have not yet been collected. These texts are written in hieroglyphic.

II. The Theban texts from the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty, written mostly in hieroglyphic, and sometimes in the so-called hieratic or cursive hieroglyphic. These texts have been collected by Naville, and published by him with the assistance of the German government in a monumental work, the Introduction to which has opened out the study of the Book of the Dead to all students as well as scholars. The hieratic texts after the twentieth dynasty are closely connected with this second group, but have no regular order of chapters.

III. The Saïte and Ptolemaic texts, arranged in far more regular and systematic order, written in hieroglyphic or hieratic. On account of the disorder into which the book had fallen, the scribes of this age seem to have formed a canon ; these texts, therefore, follow more or less this canonical rule, and though less difficult to arrange, are also consequently of less interest than the earlier copies.

The text of the earliest examples is written in hieroglyphic, not in hieratic, though the hieratic (the shortened cursive form of hieroglyphic) was probably in existence in very ancient times. The hieratic, notwithstanding its name, was not then accepted for funeral texts, though it was used for other purposes. The hieroglyphic was the older and more careful writing, it was considered, therefore, more proper for religious

books, just as the classic Arabic in which the vowels are inserted is used for the sacred writings of the Koran, while in the Arabic of secular books the vowels may be omitted. From 1000 B.C. hieratic examples of the Book of the Dead become very frequent.

A few of the most famous copies of the Book of the Dead in the various museums may now be briefly enumerated. We must mention first of all the great Turin papyrus; this papyrus over sixty feet long, was first studied by Champollion, and then by Lepsius; Champollion called it a funeral ritual, but Lepsius, who published it in 1842, gave it the name it has borne ever since, the Todtenbuch. In Egyptological books the chapters of the Book of the Dead are all numbered according to this Turin papyrus, which has formed the basis of all study on the subject.

At Ghizeh, one of the most interesting copies of the Book of the Dead is that written on the linen of the bandages of King Thothmes III., on the same linen are found fragments of the Litany of the Sun. The Louvre possesses one or two fine copies, as well as part of the beautiful papyrus of Queen Mutmetem, the other part of which is exhibited in the British Museum. In the British Museum also is a copy with gilded hieroglyphics to commemorate the fact that the deceased was a goldsmith. There are two names inserted in this copy, the first name is Semitic, so that this goldsmith may have been a Phœnician or Syrian, the great nation of metal-workers of the ancient world; the second name is Egyptian, and was probably assumed when he settled in Egypt. It was a very common practice for foreign settlers or officials to assume an Egyptian name in the land of their adoption. Joseph

himself received an Egyptian name from Pharaoh on being appointed governor. Another copy in the British Museum bears the inscription showing that it was made for the chief librarian of a king of the twentieth dynasty. One of the finest in our national collection, however, is the papyrus of Ani, a facsimile of which has been published by order of the Trustees; this papyrus serves very well as a typical example of the Book of the Dead; it was found in a Theban tomb,

Pap. of Ani, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 5.—ANI, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE TUTI.

probably of the nineteenth dynasty. The first part was prepared expressly for Ani, by his order and during his lifetime, while the end was added afterwards, probably from a ready-made copy, as the name is filled in by another hand. It bears a great resemblance to the beautiful papyrus of Hunefer, also in the British Museum, who was in the service of King Seti I.; in both cases the vignettes are beautifully painted. Ani, who is accompanied by his wife Tuti, was the scribe of the sacred revenues of all the gods, he had the charge

of the granaries of the Lord of Abydos, and this office in the Egyptian hierarchy probably took precedence of the "prophets" and "sacred fathers."

These famous copies all belong to the second group of texts, to the period of the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty, but the Book of the Dead that they contain is essentially the same book that is found at Sakkarah engraven on the walls of those inscribed pyramids of the fifth dynasty, which were first opened by Mariette, and Brugsch. Though the three great pyramids of Ghizeh are entirely bare, yet religious inscriptions have now been found in five pyramids. These inscriptions are not all alike, but they are all evidently from the same source, they are extracts from a Book of the Dead that must have existed before the pyramids were built, that was put together in the time of the earliest dynasties or even in prehistoric ages. After the pyramid age the next fragments that we possess belong to the time of the eleventh and twelfth dynasties, and are found on the walls of tombs as well as on the coffins of that period. These texts are much shorter than the texts of later date, and glosses and commentaries are introduced, apparently to try to explain the meaning of the text. The text is frequently interrupted by the question, "What is that?" followed by an explanation by the commentator. The commentary, however, is sometimes so much more obscure than the text, that we cannot help suspecting that it may have been intended rather to mystify than to elucidate the meaning; the priests perhaps wished to render it impossible for the uninitiated to understand these mystic writings.

The ancient Egyptians themselves ascribed several of the chapters to Usaphais of the first dynasty, a prince

of This, near Abydos, who, since the recent excavations at Abydos, has been identified with Hesepta, fifth king of that dynasty. In the sixty-fourth chapter of some of the Theban copies we read: "This chapter was discovered in the foundations of Ami Hunnu (probably one of the sanctuaries of Heliopolis) by a mason when rebuilding a wall of the time of King Usaphais the victor, it is a secret writing that was never seen nor looked at." Another version attributes this chapter and the chapters of the heart to King Menkara, a Memphite king of the fourth dynasty. It says: "This chapter was found at Eshmun (Hermopolis), on a brick of alabaster of the south, engraved in real lapis lazuli, under the feet of this god (Thoth) in the time of King Menkara the victor. The royal son of Hortetef found it when he was travelling making the inspection of the temples." Another text, instead of saying that it was engraved in real lapis lazuli, says that it was written by the god himself. These words may have been intended to heighten the holy character of the book, though, as two such bricks have actually been found, it is probable that copies were buried in the walls of the temples, or as foundation deposits, and Naville has pointed out that the same may have been the case with copies of Hebrew records. He instances the copy of the Law, supposed to be the Book of Deuteronomy found by Hilkiah the priest in the house of the Lord when the repairs of the temple were being carried out by order of King Josiah, which he believes to have been a foundation deposit in the Temple of Solomon and to have been written in cuneiform characters (2 Chron. xxxiv.).*

Tradition, therefore, points to the fact that certain

* "La découverte de la Loi." Naville. Paris, 1910.

chapters existed in Memphite and Thinite times or even earlier; also there seems to be no doubt that in these early ages the Book of the Dead was reserved exclusively for the use of the kings. It must indeed have been an extraordinary socialistic innovation when the people of high and low degree usurped the right to use the royal book. It appears, then, that four thousand years before our era a collection of religious texts existed, and from these texts certain were selected to be inscribed on the walls of the fifth dynasty pyramids and on the coffins of the kings of the same period. Later the same texts, to which others were added, were used, not only on the walls of royal tombs and coffins, but also on rolls of papyri buried with the dead of all sorts and conditions of men. Thus this collection of texts, now called the Book of the Dead, consists of fragments of many different epochs with no connecting thread except that of the subject, which, while religious, deals throughout with the future state.

The Book of the Dead belongs not only to different periods but also to different places. As it is based on the teaching of Heliopolis, that city naturally plays the most important part in its geography. It is the chief city of the nether-world. But though it has certain affinities with the Heliopolis of this world, it is not in any way identical with that city, any more than the "Jerusalem on high" is identical with the Jerusalem of the Jews, or the mystical Canaan with the land of Palestine, the heavenly Eden with the garden of Adam and Eve.

Heliopolis or On is frequently mentioned in the Book of the Dead. In the first chapter the deceased goes to "prove the words in the great hall of the temple of On," and on the linen of Thothmes III. it is written:

"I go every day to On my town." The great judgment scene also is supposed to take place at On, for when the deceased emerges from the hall of Truth he finds himself in the temple of On, while in that very ancient and important chapter, the 17th, Tum, the god of Heliopolis, is the speaker.

Some of the places mentioned guide us as to the probable source of certain chapters, for instance, the four chapters, 144th to 147th, probably belong to Abydos, as they concern the house of Osiris, the great god of Abydos, and the same may be said of the hymns to Osiris at the end of the Book of the Dead. The 171st chapter may have originated at Thebes, as Amen the great god of Thebes is mentioned in it, and the 172nd from Memphis, as Ptah the god of Memphis has the principal place in it, while the chapters concerning Thoth may have been compiled at Hermopolis, the town of Thoth, the god of wisdom, the reputed writer of the book. In these earthly cities were priestly colleges and schools belonging to the temple of the special divinity worshipped there, the most important of all being the great college of On, the centre of the sun worship. Probably in these earthly cities there were ceremonies and festivals linking them with those heavenly cities of the same names mentioned in the Book of the Dead.

Since this book is a compilation belonging not only to various ages, but also to many centres of religious teaching, it follows naturally that there is no connection of time or place between the different parts. There is no beginning, though we may call one chapter Chapter I., nor is there any end, for new discoveries add fresh chapters, and yet none can be called final. One chapter does not depend on the one that precedes or follows it,

and it seems impossible to understand the principle underlying the varying arrangement in the different papyri, nor to believe that it could be either doctrinal or chronological.

As Naville has well remarked, the chapters have as little connection with each other as the Hebrew psalms, and if one chapter seems to have a necessary connection with another, the connection is due probably to custom rather than to doctrine. Different groups of chapters, however, may certainly be distinguished with definite characteristics, and it might almost be said that in some cases one or another group, taken by itself, might form a complete Book of the Dead.

Maspero believes, however, that, underlying all this confusion, there is method and order which will one day be unravelled. He says that though we do not now understand the why and wherefore of the position of certain parts, there was probably a definite reason for their order; and his opinion is corroborated by the fact that there is less variety in the place of the principal chapters than in those of secondary importance.

With regard to the commentaries, we can sometimes see the object of their interpolation, and evidently the apparent likeness between certain parts has sometimes led to their being put side by side.

The difficulties of translating the Book of the Dead are not due entirely to the fact of its belonging to different epochs and schools of thought, but they also arise from the manner in which the various copies were written. These copies were often made by scribes, who did not in the least follow the sense of what they were writing. As early as in the time of the eleventh and twelfth dynasties, parts of the text were so obscure that

explanation was considered necessary, and commentaries were added. In other places, where there were several readings of the same passage, and the scribe was doubtful which reading was the correct one, he would take the various readings and insert them together, instead of choosing one.

Again, in the early texts the determinatives were often omitted, and the sense of a word was therefore left obscure, as without its determinative (the final hieroglyphic sign which followed the word and determined its sense) the same word might have several different meanings; and when the sense of the whole passage is doubtful, it follows naturally that we may often choose the wrong one, especially as some of the common words are often as difficult to construe as many of the rarer ones. In addition to the errors due to ignorance there are the errors due to carelessness; the latter were probably increased in number by the knowledge of the scribes that the manuscript they were copying was to be placed in a coffin; it was to be buried with the dead, and would not be read by the eyes of the living. Truly man is but human in all ages of the world, and the scribes knew that in this world, at any rate, they would incur no punishment, for no errors would be detected, and probably they thought the book, however incorrect, would serve its purpose in the darkness of the grave.

Mistakes also sometimes arose from the scribes copying the signs in the wrong order. Signs intended to be read from left to right are sometimes copied from right to left, or *vice versâ*. Copies of the Book of the Dead were also often written from dictation. One man might dictate to as many as two hundred scribes at

the same time, and as the scribes knew that no one would look over their copies when they were finished, they took little pains to avoid errors, and these dictated copies were probably sold ready made at a low rate to the poor. In some papyri no name is inserted, either because they found no purchaser, or because they may possibly have been intended to serve for several deceased buried together in the same tomb.

The difficulties of translation are still further increased by the fact that the language employed in many parts of the Book of the Dead is what Brugsch calls *mystic*, and will probably never be understood by modern scholars, who have no clue to the hidden meaning; in fact, perhaps the more mystic and the less intelligible the language, the greater might be the magical power it would be supposed to exercise.

The abstruseness of the subject also augments the difficulties of the Book of the Dead. Knowledge of any subject is always needed before an obscure or confused book on that subject can be understood, and even then unexpected ideas may take us by surprise, and abstract ideas which are congenial to the Eastern mind and common to the religions of the East may sometimes be impossible to express in our concrete language, or even to be fully grasped by minds trained in our Western schools of thought. The present-day discussions on the creeds and councils of the early Church are but a modern instance of the difficulty the Western mind finds in following an Eastern train of thought. It is also necessary, in order to judge another religion rightly, that the critic should not only possess a religious mind himself, but also have a broad outlook and be without prejudice.

Many scholars have devoted years of their lives to the study of the Book of the Dead, with the result that, notwithstanding the many difficulties recapitulated above, much may already be understood and explained, though parts of the work will probably baffle all inquiry for a long time to come.

The Egyptian title of the Book of the Dead is *Per em hru*, and the translation of this title has given rise to much discussion and difference of opinion. Literally it may be translated "coming forth or going forth from day." Some scholars have considered this title to mean, "Coming forth from the light of this world into the darkness of the next world." Maspero construes it to mean, "Coming forth *during* the day," and maintains that this title refers only to the first part of the book, the aim and scope of which is to transport the deceased from this life to the future life, and to give him a quiet and comfortable existence there. He imagines that the soul, finding himself in the darkness of the tomb, cried out for light, and longed to go out *during* the day.

Maspero insists on the idea that the old Egyptians carried on their conception of this world into the next. They believed that days and nights existed in the other world, and that the "Book of the Coming Forth" would enable the deceased to spend the days in happiness and light; to quit the darkness of the tomb; to become a living being, not a mummy.

Naville believes the true meaning of the title to be "To go forth from the day," or "from his day," as from the comparison of a great number of texts he feels convinced that the Egyptian word *hru* always means day and never light. Naville considers that the day in this case represents this life. The deceased went forth from

his day, his life; he did not lose life itself, but he went forth from one life into another life, a life freed from the narrow limits of earthly life, a life without beginning or ending. A day, being a limited portion of time, may very well represent the limited portion of life which was spent upon earth. The deceased went forth from this limited life into an eternal life, into an existence unbounded by time or space. The words *per em hru* are often followed by the words "in all the forms he pleases," alluding probably to the different forms which might be assumed by the deceased in the other world.

The full title given at the beginning of the first chapter of the papyrus of Ani is: "The beginning of the chapters of the coming forth by day, of extolments and celebrations, and coming out of and entering the Nether-world with glory in the beautiful Amenta (Hidden-Land), said on the day of burial: Entering after Coming forth." This word "extolments" is the translation of the word *setsu;* it may originally have meant power, but is believed by Renouf in this passage to mean the raising of the dead. The intention, therefore, of this hymn or chapter was to raise the dead mummy, to bring him to life in the next world, to provide him with instructions and to be the source of his power. In some earlier texts the word *setsu* is connected with raising the head, and in the pyramid texts with raising the deceased on the funeral couch. The recitation, therefore, of this chapter was probably supposed to raise the deceased on the funeral couch, with the result that he would be brought to life again. In the papyrus of Ani the chapter ends with a prayer that the soul may enter the realms of Osiris. We read:

"O ye who introduce beneficent souls into the

house of Osiris, do ye introduce the perfect soul of the Osiris Ani, triumphant, with you into the house of Osiris; let him hear as you hear, see as you see, let him stand as you stand and sit as you sit.

Pap. of Ani, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 6.—THE PERFECT SOUL OF ANI.

"O ye who give bread and beer to beneficent souls in the house of Osiris, give bread and beer at the two periods to the soul of the Osiris Ani, triumphant before all the gods of Abydos and triumphant along with you.

"O ye who unclose the ways and open the roads to beneficent souls in the house of Osiris, unclose the ways and open the roads to the soul of the Osiris Ani, Scribe of the Revenues of all the gods, together with you. Let him enter boldly and come out in peace, at the house of Osiris, without hindrance and without repulse. Let him come in at his pleasure and go forth at his will. He is triumphant, and his orders are executed at the house of Osiris. He converses with you and is glorified with you. No lightness of his in the scale has been found, and the balance is disburdened of his case."

The word "triumphant" in this passage is one of the equivalents for the Egyptian *ma-kheru*. The literal translation of this word is "of true voice"; it probably means the voice of power, or of command. If the deceased used that voice to enunciate any proposition, that proposition became a fact, a reality; the voice of

the deceased was as the voice of GOD, who said, "Let there be light, and there was light." If the deceased possessed this voice his commands were executed; the *ushabti*, or answerers, fulfilled his every wish; his enemies were powerless against him, for what he told them to do was executed even as he spoke; the gods themselves could not resist this voice. The effect, therefore, of this voice was to render the deceased triumphant, irresistible, and victorious over all that opposed him. *Ma-kheru* is a divine title and is, therefore, never used of those living in this world, but it is so rarely omitted in the papyri after the name of the deceased, that for a long time many translators thought it simply signified "deceased." In fact, the word is used in the same way as the Germans use the word *selig*, in speaking of their departed friends. *Ma-kheru* preceded by a negative signifies want of success or failure; this is an additional reason for the conviction that Naville gives the best translation when he renders it "triumphant" or "victorious." The magical and divine power of the voice gives us one clue to the reason why it was so imperative to bury the Book of the Dead with the deceased, for the "voice of power" was not sufficient without the words to be used by that voice.

Though the Book of the Dead was not a funeral ritual, a small portion of the book was probably intended to be recited at the funeral. In some of the later texts, for instance, we find, at the end of the first chapter, "May I rise up a living god; may I shine as the divine host which is in heaven; may I be as one of you . . . may I not be prevented from seeing the lords of the *Tuat* (the nether world), from smelling the fragrance of the sacrificial offering made to the divine

host, and sitting with them. Let the *Kherheb* (funeral priest) make invocation over my coffin. Let me hear the prayers of the propitiation . . . may the gods receive me and say to me 'Welcome, welcome in peace.'" This fact that a very small portion of the whole, probably formed part of the burial service, does not in any way alter the scope and purpose of the book.

Pap. No. 9949, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 7.—FUNERAL SERVICE AT THE TOMB.

The Book of the Dead, also, is not a ritual of worship like our Prayer-book, for though it is full of prayers and petitions, these are rather the private prayers of one man than a public form of worship, and there is very little adoration or praise of the gods, certainly not enough to make us regard it as a service or office book to be used in a temple or church. There are also no directions for the priests, except in the case

of the amulets which they have to place on the mummy.

The rubric from the first chapter of the papyrus of Ani gives in a few words the true intention of the book: "If this book is known upon earth or inscribed on the coffin, he (the deceased) will come forth by day in all the forms he pleases, and return to his place without hindrance: there shall be given to him bread and beer and flesh upon the table of Osiris. He shall enter in peace into the Sechet-Aalu (the Elysian Fields) to learn the decree of the god who is in Tattu." Tattu is the land of Osiris, the god of the dead; the word is written with the hieroglyphic signs frequently employed for the name of that god. The passage goes on to say, "And measures of corn shall there be given unto him, for he shall be as vigorous as he was upon earth. And he will do all that he wishes, like those gods who are in the Tuat (the Nether-world), in strict conformity to Law an infinity of times."

Thus we learn that the knowledge of this book, or the possession of this book, or the inscription of this book on the walls of the tomb, on the coffin, on the bandages of the mummy, or on a roll of papyrus placed inside the bandages, was more than guide or compass to the deceased for the other world; it meant life itself to him, and a triumphant life. Indeed, we read on the linen of the bandages of the mummy of King Thothmes III., as well as in other places, that it is the "book of the perfecting of the deceased." It was for the work of his perfection that this collection of prayers or hymns was prepared, most of which were supposed to be spoken to the deceased, or by the deceased in the other world.

We may well ask whether any education was

provided for the people in ancient Egypt, to prepare them during their lifetime on earth to use this book after death. Did they, when on earth, learn the words by heart in order to repeat them faithfully, when need arose in the other world? Were the children taught to say, sentence after sentence, or chapter after chapter, by rote, in the same way as the Mohammedan children learn the words of the Koran? We know that there were priestly colleges and schools at Heliopolis and in other centres of learning. Did the children sit cross-legged on the floor of these schools and learn out of the Book of the Dead, as the children now learn the precepts of Mohammed in the Mosque of El Azhar at Cairo? In this university mosque we can see any day hundreds of students of all ages studying the Koran, or rather repeating over and over again the same sacred passages, learning them by rote, and reciting them aloud, rocking themselves to and fro to the sing-song rhythm of the passages they are repeating, until the monotony almost confuses the brain. If it be true that the East is changeless, is it possible that we have here an example of the "unchangefulness in the midst of the change," a living picture of the children of four or even five thousand years ago? Probably not, for all that we know of the teaching of the priests tends to show that the Book of the Dead could be learnt only by magical power, and that in the same way as the pictures on the walls of the early tombs became real to the double of the deceased as he gazed upon them, so the possession of this book in the tomb inspired the triumphant soul with the true knowledge of its contents, and this knowledge gave him might, and enabled him to enjoy all the privileges of the new life.

The immense number of copies that we possess shows that for many ages it was the rule to bury a copy with most mummies, and that the Egyptians believed firmly that the best way of safety and happiness for their deceased lay in the possession of this book. The diverse nature of these copies indicates that all souls were not expected to share the same experience in the future. Their lives would probably be as different in the other world as they had been on earth, hence the great length and variety of the contents of the Book of the Dead. It was intended to serve all, not one, and according to the ancient Egyptian faith it was quite impossible that the future of all souls could be alike as regards their future happiness.

Many Christians rest quite contented in the thought that their deceased friends or relations have reached heaven; they realize that they know so little of the future world that they believe it useless to try and help them in any way in their life there. In most of the non-Christian religions the soul has generally to follow one certain path in the other world, to go through certain pre-ordained changes or phases, which will lead to one certain goal; but the teaching of the Book of the Dead shows that in the ancient Egyptian religion there was no certain way which the soul should follow nor goal which he should attain. All possible contingencies were provided for in this great collection of prayers, in order that the soul might take his choice for his own particular need or guidance. He might wish to realize some special ideal of his heart; he might long for some dearly prized privilege, or he might chance to find himself in some unexpected

difficulty or danger; in any such case, without will or purpose of his own, and probably without previous learning or training, the mere possession of this book would bring to his lips those magical words of power which would protect him from all his enemies, and even constrain the gods themselves to serve him.

CHAPTER III

LIFE IN THE NETHER-WORLD

THE funeral formed the introduction of the soul into the under-world. In some copies of the Book of the Dead an additional chapter is found at the end of Chapter I., called the "Chapter of Introducing the mummy into the Tuat (Nether-world) on the day of burial." Renouf says that the word here translated "mummy" is not to be understood as the visible mummy, but as the living personality which it enclosed.

It was this living personality which had not only to be introduced into the eternal world, but also to be guided and guarded throughout the long journeys in that unknown land.

Pap. of Ani, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 8.—THE SOUL REVISITING THE MUMMY.

The tomb, as we have seen, was essentially the home of the *ka* or double, but the soul might also return at times from the other world to revisit the mummy, to dwell in the tomb, or rest in the trees of the garden of the tomb, or in exceptional cases even to travel about Egypt.

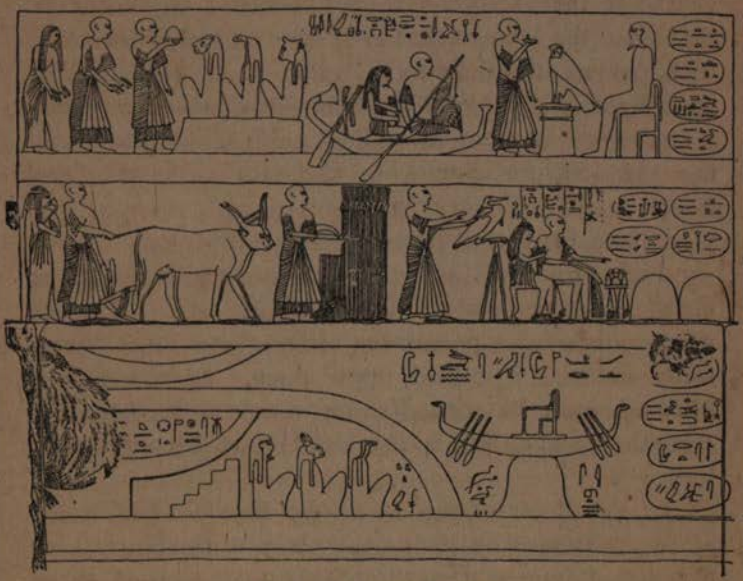
The *Tuat* or other world as it appears to have been represented in the earliest tombs, seems to have been a sort of glorified Egypt, an agricultural country, where corn and all good things grew with the minimum amount of trouble, where water was abundant, and the land did not need to be irrigated by means of shadoofs and sakkiehs, those rough and ready contrivances of the Arabs by which the Nile is now made to water the whole of the cultivated land of the valley.

This land of plenty forms the Elysian Fields of the ancient Egyptians, and throughout the long ages of their history they retained their faith in this Happy Land, which is often described in the Book of the Dead as, at any rate, part of the future world. In the 110th chapter the deceased prays for a "good allotment in the Sechet-aalu." * The cultivation of this allotment was entrusted to his care, but it entailed no hard work, for he ran no risk of low inundations or of bad harvests, the corn was always good and of gigantic stature. We are told both in the 109th and 149th chapters that "the wheat is of seven cubits, the ears of it two cubits, the stalk of it five cubits. The barley is of seven cubits, and the ears of it four cubits, and the stalk of it three cubits. It is the glorified ones, each of whom is nine cubits in height, who reap them in the presence of the powers of the East."

In the papyrus of Ani we see the deceased ploughing his land and reaping his splendid corn, while above are written words signifying that this is the abode of

* The garden of *Aalu* takes its name, according to Renouf, from the name of a plant, and as this plant has a serpent for its determinative, it was probably a creeping or twining plant, such as the hop or vine. Maspero speaks boldly of the Elysian Fields as "les champs des fêves."

departed souls. When the deceased reached these Elysian Fields, he was not obliged to do all the ploughing and reaping himself, he might lead a life of lazy content, eating, drinking, and sleeping, sitting under the shade of the trees and enjoying the cool breezes from the north, overseeing the culture of the



Bas-Relief, Leyden Museum.

FIG. 9.—WORK IN THE ELYSIAN FIELDS.

land rather than working himself, for, as we have already seen, buried in the tomb with him were numbers of *Ushabti* or answerers, his servants always at his beck and call, bound to do his work for him, and answer to his name when he was called. These little figures which are found by hundreds in some of the graves are either in the form of Osiris, the god of the

dead, or, more frequently in early times, they are in human form; they hold the implements of agriculture, the hoe and the pickaxe to till the ground, and the square basket to carry the earth.

On these statuettes is often inscribed the whole or part of the 6th chapter of the Book of the Dead: "O Statuette there! should I be called and appointed to do any of the labours that are done in the Nether-world by a person according to his abilities, lo! all obstacles have been beaten down for thee: be thou counted for me at every moment, for planting the fields, for watering the soil, for conveying the sands of east and west.

"Here am I, whithersoever thou callest me."

The statuette is addressed at the beginning of the chapter and replies at the end. In later times the name only of the person for whom these little figures were made is inscribed upon them. In the British Museum may be seen *Ushabti* which were made for Amenhotep III., Seti I., Ramses III., and several other kings.

In the Book of the Dead the Elysian Fields are often represented as islands, the "Isles of the Blest," each part being divided from the other by the sign of water. In the 15th chapter we read of the deceased: "Let him be united with the souls in the Nether-world; let him sail about in the country of the *Aalu* after a joyful journey." In the papyrus of Ani the canal of the third division is said to be of untold extent, and to have no fishes or serpents in it. Though this country was essentially the agricultural land the Egyptians knew so well, there was also an element of the unknown about it. Probably in the earliest historical period they

Pap., Leyden Museum.

FIG. 10.—THE ISLES OF THE BLEST.

imagined it to be placed in the then almost unknown marshes of the Delta.

The early immigrants who brought with them religion, civilization and government came from the East, and crossing the desert, probably reached the Nile either by the Wadi Hammamat, just north of Thebes, or further south, at some point in Nubia.* They then worked their way northward down the great river to the town of This, near Abydos, and later to Memphis. Beyond Memphis lay an unconquered marshy land, a happy hunting-ground with streams full of fish, with flocks of birds on the banks and in the rushes. They might well imagine this part of the country as a land of joy and pleasure to which they would desire to go after death.

Though the Delta very soon came to be a known land, yet, even as late as the time of Joseph, the land of Goshen in the eastern part of the Delta was considered so much outside Egypt proper, that Joseph, desiring to keep his family apart from the Egyptians, asked Pharaoh to give it to them for their flocks and herds. These Semitic settlers dwelt there for the best part of five centuries, yet in their subsequent writings, we find very little trace of the Egyptian ideas of immortality and the future life.

As the Delta was soon found to be of very limited extent, the land of the future retreated to the unknown West, to the land beyond the sunset, where the sun rose and shone through the hours of the night. To reach this

* Some scholars believe that foreign influence first entered northern Egypt across the plains of Southern Syria, and that in prehistoric times the civilization of the north was further advanced than that of the south. "A Short History of Ancient Egypt," pp. 11, 12. Newberry and Garstang.

other-world the deceased was supposed to either take a journey across the desert, or as some of the inscriptions of the Memphite tombs tell us, a voyage across a lake, the lake of the West, upon which he is said to embark in a boat to reach the *Sechet-hotepu*, the land of rest or peace, one part of the Elysian Fields. Like the child chasing the rainbow, these old inhabitants of Egypt travelled ever further and further afield to find this unknown world.

Many other primitive folk besides the Egyptians have imagined the future world as a happy hunting-ground. The Red Indians buried both spear and bow with their dead, that they might hunt for food and fight their enemies in the other-world. These spears and bows were often broken that their spirits might escape and depart to the soul that was gone. Broken furniture, weapons or pots have also been found in the early graves in Egypt; they were buried there, as Maspero believes, in order that their *kas* or doubles might be released and thus be set free to serve the *ka* of the deceased. In comparatively modern times the horse was killed on the grave of his master, possibly with the same idea of his following him into the other-world.

Another tradition of the ancient Egyptians represents the other-world as surrounded by the ocean, the "Great Green," as they called the sea. Their ideas about the sea were very vague, and yet may have contained a glimmering of truth. For instance, a story on a papyrus at St. Petersburg tells of a soul that goes up the Nile to its source in the mysterious sea, where he lands on the "Isle of the double," a place reserved by the gods for the doubles of men. It was not given to

all souls to find the way to this island, and whoever left it could never find it again, he found nothing but waves. It may be possible that in this story we have the reflection of some old tradition of the source of the Nile in the great inland sea of Victoria Nyanza. The unknown and the known were thus blended together, and the other-world was pictured not only as an earthly paradise, but also as a realm beyond all reach of human ken.

We shall not be surprised, therefore, to learn that the Elysian Fields were not the sole and only other-world of the ancient Egyptians, and that their ideas of the life they would lead in the future varied very much at different periods of their history. Even in the earliest ages the kings, as we see from the pyramid texts, were identified after death with the Sun-god and were received on board his bark to travel with him in the Hidden Land. It stands to reason that the kings who were worshipped as divine even on earth, could not be expected after death to live the life of country gentlemen or of peasants in the Elysian Fields.

With the growth of civilization, and as other parts of the world became better known, the more educated of the people may well have become discontented with the prospect of a future existence which was a mere reproduction of the world they knew so well. The priests also evolved a more complicated system of religion, with the result that the Egyptian conception of the Beyond became, as Maspero remarks, a sort of eclectic Hades, where the most contradictory ideals of happiness could be satisfied.

It was with the evolution of these confused and complicated ideas of the future state that the Book of

the Dead became a necessary part of the outfit of the soul before he set out on his perilous journey. It was buried with him as his guide-book, and it is as impartial as a good guide-book is wont to be. It had to serve for all souls in their various travels; there was nothing in it which determined which way the soul ought to go, in fact there was no narrow way leading unto life, nor broad path leading unto destruction. According to these religious texts the soul seems rather to wander without purpose through various devious ways and to find himself in certain circumstances or conditions of danger or difficulty in which his only safety lay in the possession of the Book of the Dead. He might have to cross a weary desert between this world and the next, and without the Book of the Dead he might perish of thirst. He might have to pass through closed gates guarded by famished demons waiting to devour him, the Book of the Dead gave him the password, the "open sesame" of the Arabian Nights, and the gates opened to let him pass through.

One ordeal especially might make or mar his whole future life, the ordeal that forms the keystone and centre of the whole book, the psychostasia or weighing of the soul. In order to pass through this ordeal in safety the deceased was identified with his judge Osiris, and triumphed by virtue of wearing his form. This subject will be treated more in detail when dealing with the morality of the Book of the Dead.

The chapters of the Book of the Dead which are perhaps of next importance, after those of the psychostasia, are those which treat of the identification of the soul with the Sun-god Ra; these chapters show how the deceased might prolong his life indefinitely and

might win immortality. In one of the vignettes of the papyrus of Ani we see the deceased adoring the god in the solar bark, and in another, the god traversing the sky accompanied by the deceased.

If we now take the Book of the Dead in more detail, we shall in many cases be able to see with what intention the various chapters were written, and what purpose they were meant to serve as regards the deceased. At times some true religious light shines through the confused mythology and bears out the truth of Tennyson's words:

> "Look how the living pulse of Allah beats
> Through all his world . . .
> There is light in all,
> And light with more or less of shade in all
> Man-modes of worship."

The first chapter of the Book of the Dead is usually followed by some short unimportant ones, after which comes the long important 15th chapter, which is not found in any of the oldest texts. The papyrus of Ani contains a good edition of this chapter in two parts. The adoration of Ra at his rising and at his setting. The vignettes are often numbered as the 16th chapter; they represent the myth of the sunrise, the victory of Light, and the adoration of Ra in the morning and in the evening. The deceased prays that he may journey with Ra in the boats of the Morning and of the Evening; he says: "Let the limbs of my body be renewed by the contemplation of thy glory, like all thy servants, for I am one of those who honoured thee upon earth. Let me reach the land of Ages, let me gain the Land of Eternity: for thou hast destined them for me.

"Hail to thee who riseth up from the Horizon as Ra in union with Maat; thou dost traverse Heaven in peace, and all men see thee as thou goest forward. And after being concealed from them, thou presentest thyself at the dawn of each day.

"Brisk is the bark under thy Majesty. Thy rays are upon men's faces, the golden glories they cannot be told: not to be described are thy beams. The Land of the gods, the colours of Punt are seen in them; that men may form an estimate of that which is hidden from their faces." Punt, the incense country, lay to the east, and therefore signifies the sunrise, and the colours of sunrise speak of the glories of the Hidden Land. This Hidden Land, the abode of the gods, the beauty of which can only be gathered by the contemplation of the glories of the rising sun, is also the future abode of the deceased, who becomes identified with the sun-god. This passage, alluding to the untold glory of that land, reminds us of the words of St. Paul: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him" (1 Cor. ii. 9).

The colours of the magnificent Egyptian sunsets are also alluded to in the Book of the Dead (162nd chapter), where we read of one of the amulets: "This is a very great protection granted to Ra after he had gone to rest. His abode is surrounded by warriors of blazing fire."

In the chapter we are now considering (15th) the deceased also prays: "Grant that I may attain to the Heaven of eternity, and the abode of thy servants where thou dwellest with the Khu." The word *Khu*, Renouf says, signifies glory, brilliance, splendour,

radiance, and is used to denote those gone to glory, including the gods. Maspero calls the *Khu* "*les lumineux*." The Sun-god Ra is said to come in peace to give light to the hearts of the *Khu*.

In many copies of the Book of the Dead a Litany of Ra forms part of this 15th chapter, and after each invocation follows the petition: "Give delicious breezes of the north wind to the Osiris N." The rubric at the end orders that "this chapter shall be said when Ra sets in the Land of Life with hands bent downward." The "Land of Life" is one of the names given to the future abode of the soul. Renouf does not think this name occurs anywhere in the more ancient texts of the Book of the Dead, in the earlier copies the word "Amenta," "the Hidden Land," is used instead of "the Land of Life."

The 17th chapter is one of the most ancient. It occurs on the sarcophagus of Queen Mentuhotep of the eleventh dynasty, as well as in later copies of the Book. The earlier texts are the least corrupt, the later are full of interpolations and commentaries that render this difficult chapter still more obscure. Like the first chapter, which it often replaces, it is the chapter of the "Coming forth by day;" many later copies add to this title "taking every form that he pleaseth, playing draughts, sitting in a bower, coming forth as a soul after death." The vignettes represent the funeral procession, the opening of the mouth of the mummy, the soul revisiting the mummy, the deceased and his wife playing draughts, as well as various myths of the gods.

This chapter opens with the striking words: "I am Tum, I am the only one coming out of Nu." These

words refer to the Sun-god, who is said also to be "Resistless among the gods."

The myth of the creation alluded to in this chapter follows the ancient teaching of Heliopolis, and will be referred to in more detail later when we come to the mythology of the Book of the Dead. We need only add here that Renouf considers that the text as well as the explanatory notes belong to an age at least two thousand years before any probable date of Moses.

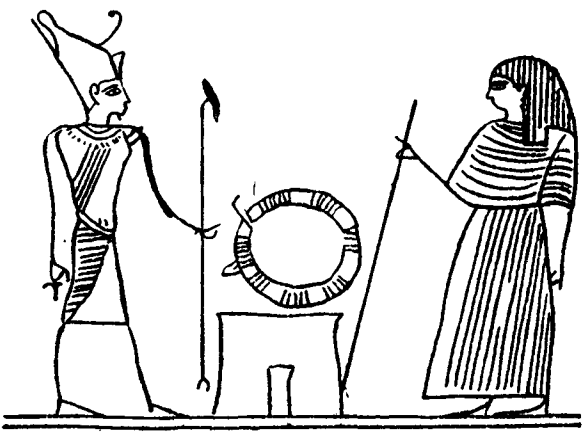
The 18th is also a very ancient chapter; it contains a litany to Thoth, the god of wisdom; the deceased implores the god to cause him to triumph over all his enemies, even as he had caused Osiris to triumph. This is one of the ritual chapters, and was probably recited at the funeral.

The 19th and 20th chapters are of late date, and owe their origin to the custom of adorning the mummies with garlands of flowers. The use of flowers at funerals dates back certainly to the time of Aahmes, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, for when the mummy of that king was found, Maspero says "il portait au cou une guirlande de jolies fleurs roses de *Delphinium orientale*." Wreaths of flowers were placed both on the head and round the neck of the deceased, as a sign that he was crowned triumphant.*

On a mummy case at Leyden we read, "After thou hast been anointed, thy head has been crowned, thou hast been crowned with a band of flowers from the field of embalmment, from the field of coronation." From this text we gather that special gardens were cultivated and planted with flowers for the mummy wreaths. The

* "La Couronne de Justification," Pleyte, *Transactions of the Oriental Congress*, Leyden, 1884.

19th chapter opens with these words, "Thy father Tum has bound thee with this good crown of justification with the living frontlet beloved of the gods: thou livest for ever." The wreath was therefore the sign of justification, and was probably supposed to be placed on the deceased in the other-world after the judgment scene, for we read: "The needle of the balance is immovable, no blemishes are found on thee on the day when thou



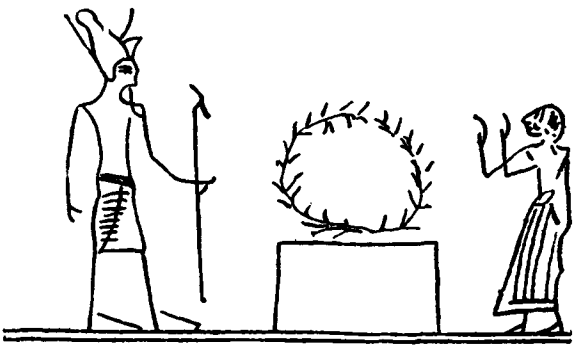
Pap. No. 440, Louvre.

FIG. 11.—FUNERAL WREATH OF FLOWERS.

dost mount on the balance of justification. All sorts of white flowers are round thy neck." Many remains of these wreaths have been found on mummies, and are in our museums; in one case a bee was discovered amongst the flowers, it had probably flown in on the day of the funeral, thousands of years ago.

The Greeks used both the laurel and the olive for wreaths, both for the living, when they were crowned victors, and for the dead. The olive was introduced

into Egypt about 1200 B.C., and after that date crowns for the dead were often made of olive leaves.



Pap. No. 3079, Louvre.

FIG. 12.—FUNERAL WREATH OF OLIVE LEAVES.

After some short chapters on the opening of the mouth of the deceased, the chapters 26–30 form a series addressed by him to the Heart. These chapters were ordered to be written on stone amulets, each of a particular colour, on felspar (green), on lapis lazuli (blue), on opal (white), and on carnelian (red). The heart was removed in the process of mummification, therefore just as the mouth had to be opened, so the heart had to be renewed for the future life. The 26th chapter was recited in order to give the deceased a heart when in the other-world, the 27th, 28th and 29th chapters were written in order to prevent any one taking away the heart of the deceased. The 30th chapter provided the soul with a magic formula that the heart should not oppose, or rather should not place himself as an enemy to the deceased. This chapter, probably the most important of this series, was supposed to be repeated in the scene of the weighing

of the soul when the heart of the deceased was lying in the scale of the balance. A scarab, or amulet, in the form of the sacred beetle, was often bound up with the mummy over the place of the heart, and on this scarab these words out of the 129th chapter were written: "Back, thou Messenger of all the gods. Art thou come to seize the heart of the living; but there shall not be given to thee the heart of the living." In one of the vignettes we see the deceased in supplication before three gods, with his heart before them on a stand.

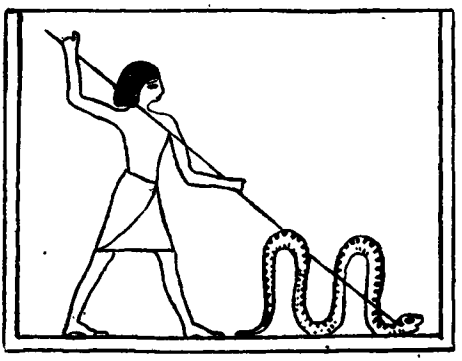
Pap. No. III. 93, *Louvre.*

FIG. 13.—THE SACRED BEETLE.

The chapters that follow the series of the heart are for the use of the soul against harmful agencies—

Pap. No. III. 89, *Louvre.*

FIG. 14.—SLAYING THE CROCODILE.



Pap. No. 93, *Louvre.*

FIG. 15.—SLAYING THE SNAKE.

against crocodiles and serpents, which are emblems of the enemies of light, against corruption, and against the fatal block and the knife by which the head of the deceased could be cut off. There are many interesting vignettes to these chapters, pictures of the slaying of crocodiles or serpents, and of the fatal block and knife.

The chapters 54–63 are intended to ensure air and water to the deceased, and as a symbol of fresh air or wind, the deceased is often represented with an inflated sail. The deceased prays to the god Tum for a breath of sweet air to his nostrils, and to the goddess Nut for a drink of pure water. "O Sycomore of Nut," he says, "give me the air and the water that is in thee." There are many representations of this goddess in a sycomore bearing a tray with bread or fruit and a vase of water. The deceased often receives the water in the hollow of his hands and quenches his thirst.

Wilkinson Mat Hierog, Plate 23.

FIG. 16.—SOUL RECEIVING BREAD AND WATER.

In Egypt sycomores often grow on the edge of the desert, and, as it seems to the fellaheen, get their nourishment supernaturally. Two of these isolated sycomores near Dahshur are still venerated, while another called the Virgin's Tree near Heliopolis has but recently fallen down. Beneath these trees the peasants often place little jars of water for passers-by or for pigeons, this is evidently the survival of an old custom. It may have been that the deceased was supposed to come to the sycomore to

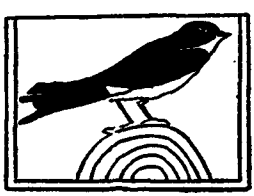
receive bread and water before crossing the desert to the underworld, and from this divine food to gain strength for the journey.

The 64th chapter to which allusion has already been made is the ancient chapter, one version of which is said to have been found at Heliopolis inscribed in lapis lazuli in the time of King Menkara. Several chapters follow whereby the deceased is enabled to "come forth by day, prevail over his enemies, or travel over the earth in the midst of the living, uninjured for ever."

The eleven chapters 77–88 deal with the various transformations of the soul; by the aid of these chapters the soul was able at will to assume different living forms; this power added

Pap. of Ani, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 17.—TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE SOUL—THE SWALLOW.



Pap. II., Leyden Museum.

FIG. 18.—TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE SOUL—THE SWALLOW.

to his glory and honour. The hawk, the *Bennu* or heron, the swallow or dove, the crocodile, the serpent and the lotus, were all forms into which the soul might transform himself. The vignette of the chapter of the lotus transformation shows us the sun-god rising from the lotus at dawn. According to the 89th chapter the soul might also return to the mummy and be reunited to the dead body, or he might assume the forms of

various gods, such as Ptah, Tum, or Osiris, or, highest of all manifestations, he might be exalted to identification with the Sun-god Ra, and receive the power and privilege of traversing the sky in the solar bark.

Pap. of Ani, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 19. — TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE SOUL — THE LOTUS.

The 100th chapter is the "Book whereby the glorified one is made strong, and is made to embark in the boat of Rā together with those who are with the god." All the parts of the boat have their special names with their mystical meanings; the knowledge of all these names was of the greatest importance to the welfare of the deceased. One of the rubrics orders that this chapter should be written with gum mixed with colours on a strip of royal papyrus and put on the throat of the deceased on the day of burial.

Chapters 108–116 form a series by which the deceased was to know the divine powers of various places, such as the East and the West, Heliopolis and Hermopolis. They are mythological in character and difficult to understand.

The 125th chapter contains the Psychostasia or weighing of the soul (see Frontispiece). This chapter, being deemed of the highest importance, is rarely missing in any copy of the Book of the Dead. The vignette with the picture of the weighing of the soul may occur in two or three different places, in the 1st or 132nd chapters, as well as in this 125th chapter, where it rightly belongs; in the earlier papyri the representation

is more simple than in the later ones. After the judgment the soul is triumphant or victorious, and the chapters which follow identify him with the gods, especially with Ra and Osiris. The deceased enters Abydos, the city of Osiris, he "acquires might with Ra, and is enabled to possess power among the gods, for the gods are made to regard him as one of themselves." The 133rd chapter is ordered to be said "over a boat four cubits in length painted green. And let a starry sky be made clean and purified with natron and incense. And see thou make an image of Ra upon a tablet of light green colour at the prow of the boat. And see thou make an image of the Deceased whom thou lovest, that he may be made strong in this boat, and that his voyage be made in the bark of Ra, and that Ra himself may look upon him." Numbers of beautiful little boats have been found in the graves, and some of them may correspond with the boats described in this chapter.

Chapters 140–143 contain lists of the names of the gods and of the forms assumed by Osiris. The deceased has to recite these names by heart while offerings are made to the gods, and according to his knowledge he will receive certain privileges; for knowledge is power.

The four chapters that follow are the chapters of the arrival of the deceased at the house of Osiris in the gardens of Aalu. There are seven gates or pylons, and as the deceased approaches one after another he has to know three names: the name of the porter, that of the warder, and that of the herald. Afterwards the deceased comes to twenty-one pylons or keeps. These cannot represent the hours, as there are only twenty-one, it is more probable that the number arises from its being three times seven, both mystic numbers. The deceased

Pap. No. 89, *Louvre.*

FIG. 20.—ARRIVAL AT THE HOUSE OF OSIRIS.

To face page 76.

has to know the name of the pylon as well as the name of the god who dwells there. At each pylon a dialogue takes place between the deceased and the god, who asks "in what water the deceased has been purified, with what oil he has been anointed, which garment he wears, which stick he holds in his hand."

In the version that is found in the royal tomb of Merenptah we read: "The salutation of Osiris the King to the pylon: I know thee, I know thy name, I know the name of the god who guardeth thee." Then follow the name of the pylon and that of the god, and after having said them, the deceased describes the purifications he has gone through, the oils with which he has been anointed, and the text ends with these words: "Pass on, thou art pure." At each pylon the deceased was evidently supposed to wear a different garment, which was provided for him at the pylon. These chapters of the pylons probably originated at Abydos, where Osiris was supposed to have been buried. The vignettes of this chapter in the Ani papyrus are very beautiful, and show the deceased and his wife approaching the seven gates and the pylons.

Lanzone (Dic. Egiz.).

FIG. 21.—THE GODDESS HATHOR GIVING DRINK TO THE DECEASED.

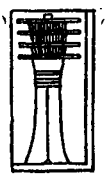
The 148th chapter is to give sustenance to the deceased in the nether-world and to deliver him from all evil things. Throughout the chapter there is a connection between these two ideas, the giving of nourishment and the deliverance from all evil. The food is divine and is given to the deceased by the gods, and therefore the effect of it is to preserve his soul from all that is hurtful.

The 149th chapter is a very interesting one; it enumerates the fourteen domains of Amenta, the Hidden Land, beginning with a description of the gardens of Aalu in almost the same words as those used in the 109th chapter. The domains are enclosed spaces, in each of which the deceased enjoys certain privileges. The domain of the *Khu*; or Glorious Ones, and that of the high and lofty mountain follow the description of the Elysian Fields. The 13th and 14th domains are those of the water or Nile. The Nile is said to take his course from Rohekmu, a name which Naville thinks is the origin of the words Crophi and Mophi, the names of the two peaks from which Herodotos says the Nile issues. This chapter ends with an invocation in which the deceased prays: "Ye powers of high flood, open to me your ponds, open to me your lakes, that I may take of your water, and that I may rest in your stream, that I may eat of your corn, that I may be satisfied with your food." The 150th chapter enumerates these domains, and gives the vignettes of the preceding chapter. These chapters generally form the close of the Theban papyri.

The 151st chapter is the first of a series of chapters that are often omitted in the papyri, because they were usually written on the walls of the tomb-chamber, or on the bandages of the mummy, or on the amulets buried with the deceased. The 153rd and 154th chapters do not belong to this series. The chapters open with a description of the tomb or "house of the Ka" (see p. 17). The vignette gives a picture of a chamber with the mummy on the funeral couch; the soul is seen revisiting the mummy in the form of a human-faced bird. Anubis, the god of embalmment, in priest's garb,

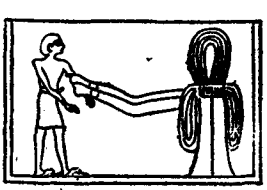
places his hands on the mummy, and at the foot of the couch stand the goddesses, Isis and Nephthys.

The short chapters, 155–160, were usually written on the amulets. The most important of these amulets were perhaps the *Tat*, the buckle, the vulture of gold, and the column of green felspar. The *Tat* was long regarded as a symbol representing four pillars, and was supposed to be an emblem of stability. Naville, however, has identified it as a human backbone, and as a symbol of Osiris. This identification is corroborated by the following words, which were written on the *Tat*: "Here is thy backbone, O god, whose heart is motionless; here is thy spine, O god, whose heart is motionless. I am come, and I bring to thee a *Tat* of gold; rejoice thou at it." The god whose heart is motionless is, of course, Osiris, who was killed by his brother Set. On the buckle of carnelian is written, "The blood of Isis, the words of power of Isis,



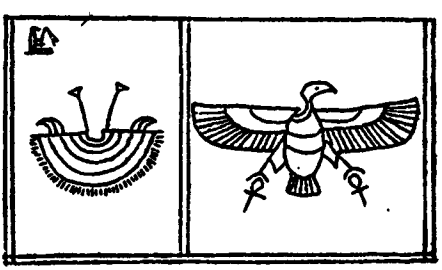
Pap. No. 9900, *Brit. Mus.*

FIG. 22.—THE TAT AMULET.



Pap. No. III. 93, *Louvre.*

FIG. 23.—THE BUCKLE AMULET.

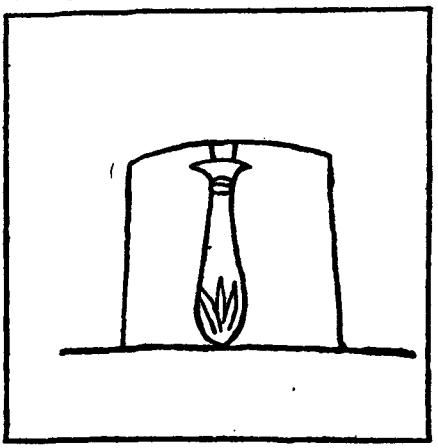


Lepsius Todtenbuch.

FIG. 24.—THE VULTURE AMULET.

the might of Isis, a talisman to protect the Great One, and prevent any wrong being done to him!" Naville

says the protecting power of the buckle is shown in the vignette to the 93rd chapter, where a buckle with human hands grasps the deceased by the left arm and prevents him from going to the East. The vulture was the symbol of Mut, the Mother Goddess, and the vulture of gold placed on the neck of the deceased would, it was believed, protect him as a mother protects a child. The vulture amulet was also worn during life as a charm against snake-bite (see p. 99). The column of green felspar was



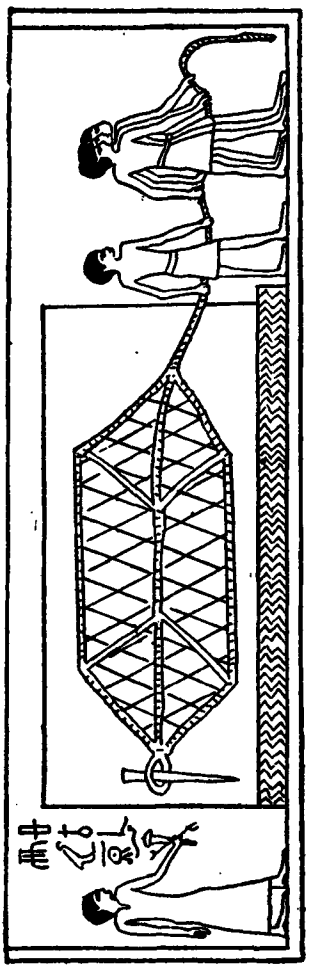
Pap. Leyden.

FIG. 25.—THE AMULET OF GREEN FELSPAR.

made of very hard stone, and was supposed to defend the deceased from injury by making his body as hard as the rock of which the amulet itself was composed.

Some of the chapters which follow are of very late date, and were written when the Egyptian religion was in its decadence. Others are said to belong to another book, an addition to the "Coming forth by day;" while several are found only in one or in perhaps two papyri. Some of these later chapters deal with the dangers to

which the deceased might be exposed in the nether-world. The 153rd chapter is the chapter of coming out of the net. The deceased, perhaps transformed into a fish or bird, is supposed to be exposed to the danger of being caught by fishers or fowlers. He only escapes by knowing the mystical names of those who may attack him and of the different parts of the net.



Pap. No. III. 93, Louvre.

FIG. 26.—COMING OUT OF THE NET.

The 154th chapter is that of "not letting the body decay in the nether-world;" it is the chapter usually found on the mummy bandages, for instance, a very good version exists on those of Thothmes III. The idea of the body suffering corruption was so repulsive to the Egyptians that they not only mummified the body with the greatest care, but also provided this chapter, as well as one of the earlier ones, to ensure its

preservation. "Grant me," says the deceased to Osiris, "to go down into the Land of Eternity, as thou dost when thou art with thy father Tum; he whose body never decays; he who does not know destruction." The chapter ends with a note of rejoicing, "I am, I am; I live, I live; I grow, I grow; and when I shall awake in peace, I shall not be in corruption. I shall not be destroyed in my bandages, my skin will not disappear. No grievous harm shall come unto me; my body is firm, it shall not be destroyed. It shall not perish in this earth for ever!"

The Arab sheikh, or nomad chief, who wrote the book of Job, makes many allusions to Egyptian customs; he rises, however, to a higher level of faith, even above the fear of corruption so dreaded in ancient Egypt, when he says: "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God" (Job xix. 25, 26).

The 175th and the following chapter are the chapters of "not dying a second time in the nether-world." The former reminds us of some of the psalms. The deceased seems to be in great distress: "O Tum! what is this place to which I have journeyed? for it is without water and without air! It is all abyss, utter darkness, sheer perplexity." Yet at the end of the chapter light breaks through the darkness, and the deceased cries: "Let all my adversaries be crushed to pieces. . . . I am thy son, O my father Ra! Thou hast been the cause of this Life, Health, and Strength. Horus is established on his throne. Grant that my duration of life may be that of one who attains beatitude." The rubric following these two chapters says: "He who

knows this chapter is a mighty *Khu* in the Nether-world."

Taking the book as a whole, the final and the greatest aim and object of the deceased was to be identified with the gods; and over and over again the rubrics at the end of the chapters show us how the Book of the Dead was intended to help the deceased to become one with them. For instance, after the 140th chapter we read: "When this chapter is read by one who is on the boat of Ra, he is towed (in a boat) like the gods, he is like one of them, and he prescribes what is done to him in the Nether-world." Again, with regard to the chapters of the Halls, we read: "If this chapter is read to the statue of the deceased . . . it causes him to have access to every hall of those which are in the book," and, "Every deceased to whom this chapter is read is like the lord of eternity. He is of one substance with Osiris, and in no place has he to encounter a great fight." The rubric to the chapter on Sustenance (148th) says: "He to whom this has been read, Ra is his steersman and his protecting power, he will not be attacked by his enemies in the Nether-world, in the sky, on the earth, and in every place he goes, for (the book) giving sustenance to the deceased has its effect regularly." Well might the deceased say: "Freedom for ever from perdition is derived through this book, and upon it I take my firm stand; let me be accompanied by this book after my life" (chapter 15).

There is one thread of gold that runs throughout the Book of the Dead; life, everlasting life, is the subject of its pages; immortality with the Sun-god. It is not the Book of the Dead but of the Living, for all live unto him.

The term "the living," frequently employed in the Book of the Dead, always refers to those whom we call the dead. The term "the dead" is only applied to the wicked, or rather to the powers of darkness, the enemies of light. The living for whom this book was written were those who, having passed through the experience of the life of this world, had attained to a more perfect existence; an existence more worthy of the term Life, an existence supposed to be dependent on this Book of the Dead which in that other world would preserve them from the second death.

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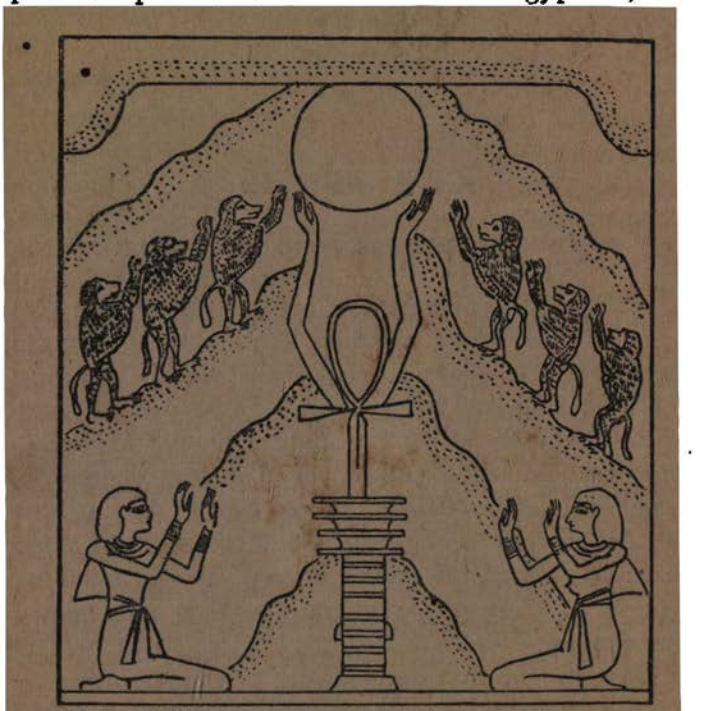
CHAPTER IV

MYTHOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

THE religious literature of ancient Egypt, like that of other ancient nations, teaches us that in old times the belief prevailed that the whole of nature was animated with one living spirit. There was no sharp division between the animate and the inanimate; everything that existed possessed in a varying degree the same soul. The four elements, Earth, Water, Fire, and Air, as well as the Sun, the Moon, and the other heavenly bodies, all were acting, living, breathing beings; all were personified and endued with human characteristics.

Possibly the first development of the Egyptian religion, such as we know it, was the embodiment of the four elements into four divinities, which were doubled into male and female by the teaching of Hermopolis, so as to form an Ogdoad, or company of Eight; these were called the fathers and mothers of the world. The vignette of the 15th chapter of the Book of the Dead (numbered as the 16th chapter) represents four cynocephalic apes or in some copies four frogs adoring the sunrise. They stand in the attitude of praise; they are the singers who greet the sun in the east, after which they were supposed to disappear and to return

at sunset to bid him farewell. The ape may have represented prehistoric man to the ancient Egyptians, who



Pap. L. a Leyden.

FIG. 27.—BABOONS ADORING THE RISING SUN.

may also very well have imagined that the frog, being an amphibious creature, might have arisen out of the chaos of earth and water that existed before the creation of the world.

It is an interesting fact that the frog, as a sacred symbol, survived the disappearance of the old Egyptian religion. Lamps of early Christian time have been

found made in the form of a frog, bearing this legend, "I am the Resurrection."

The ancient name of Hermopolis was Chemunnu, which signifies eight. It was so named from the Ogdoad of gods that was worshipped there, but the teaching of Hermopolis was second in importance to the teaching of the great city of Heliopolis on which most of the religion of the Book of the Dead is based.

It was at Heliopolis, the ancient On or An, that the Egyptian religion was probably first reduced into anything that could be called a system, and the priestly college at On was, during many ages, the religious centre of all Egypt. The ancient name of the town seems to have been derived from the name of the earliest inhabitants of the country, the Anu, who may have been dispossessed by the immigrants from the East, who established the worship of the Sun there.

The great temple of the Sun at Heliopolis is now marked only by one obelisk of the time of Usertsen I. (2400 B.C.?), half a century, perhaps, before the time of Abraham. Another obelisk, of later date, but from the same temple, stands now upon the Thames Embankment.

Joseph was probably a student in the great college attached to this temple, and there he may have met Asenath, daughter of Potipherah, a priest of On, whom he afterwards married. Moses also was possibly trained at this ancient centre of learning in "all the wisdom of the Egyptians," that wisdom which for ages was so unrivalled, that even in later times men expressed their wonder at the wisdom of Solomon by saying that it excelled even the wisdom of Egypt.

Thus the fame of the wisdom of Egypt spread throughout the ancient world, the wisdom that was first taught at this city of On of which mention is made in the pyramid texts, showing that a college for religious teaching must have existed there more than three thousand years before our era.

According to the teaching of On or Heliopolis, the sun-god was born from the god Nu, the primordial element of water. The difficulty of light emerging from water is sometimes met by the introduction of a lotus-flower floating on the water from which the sun rises; the sun is also sometimes made to emerge from an egg. In a text at Denderah we read: "The Sun rises out of the middle of the lotus-flower, opening the doors of her leaves in sapphire splendour to divide the night from the day."

The creation of light was the highest manifestation of divine force, and in the rising sun the Egyptian saw the evidence of almighty power embodied in its most splendid form. The belief that the sun, being the cause of life, was necessarily the first creation is common to many nations of the ancient world, and may have spread from Egypt to other countries. At Heliopolis the rising sun was personified in the god Tum, who is nearly always represented in human form. He was alone in Nu, the primæval water, and alone he emerged from Nu to create the world. The pyramid texts call him Ra-Tum, and the name of Ra soon prevailed over that of Tum, who became afterwards the sun at his setting; while the rising sun, or rather the sun at his zenith, as well as the sun rising or setting, was generally called Ra alone. The 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead alludes to the first rising of the sun at the creation of the world.

It says, "I am Ra at his first appearance. I am the great god, self-produced. O Ra in thine egg, who risest up in thine orb, and shinest from thine horizon, and

Pap. L. a Leyden.

FIG. 28.—ADORATION OF THE SETTING SUN.

swimmest over the firmament without a peer, and sailest over the sky, whose mouth sendeth forth breezes of flame, lightening up the two earths (South and North

Egypt) with thy glories, do thou deliver the deceased."

Tum the Sun-god was the light which was hidden in chaos, and, desiring to leave the boundless abyss, he produced movement in the primæval water. This movement produced separate existence; for, by the stirring of the water, the god Nu, who was himself the primæval water, seems to have been resolved into the male and female forms of Keb and Nut, the earth and the sky bound together in that water. Keb and Nut are sometimes said to have been born of Tum or of Ra, as were also the twin god and goddess Shu and Tafnut.

Shu is said to have thrust himself between Keb and Nut, and to have raised the goddess of heaven from the embrace of the earth-god to form the sky. An interpolation in the later copies of the 17th chapter says that the sun made his first appearance when Shu raised the sky; the separation of Keb and Nut is also often spoken of as the "raising of the firmament by Shu," and is a frequent subject of the vignettes of this chapter. The head and feet of the goddess touch the earth, while her body, spangled with stars, forms the sky. Even as early as the pyramid texts Nut is said to be the goddess who protects the deceased.

In the British Museum is the coffin of Menkara, the builder of the third great pyramid, and the inscription on it reads thus: "Nut spreads her wings over thee; in her name of the veil of the sky, she giveth thee to be in the following of the great god, for thine enemies are no more." These words form part of the 178th chapter of the Book of the Dead.

Tafnut, the sister of Shu, may personify the rain

and the dew, as her name seems to imply; but as she is represented with a lion's head, it seems more probable that she, in common with the other lion-headed divinities, may rather personify fire and not water. If this is the case, she would represent the fourth element, as water had already been personified by the god Nu.

By the teaching of Heliopolis the gods were formed into an Ennead, or company of nine; the oldest list of these nine gods is found in the pyramid texts, where they are placed in the following order: Tum, Shu, Tafnut, Keb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Set and Nephthys. This list is repeated in exactly the same order in the ritual of Abydos. In some other lists the god Set is replaced by Horus, and the goddess Nephthys by Hathor.

Keb and Nut, the earth and the sky, are generally represented as pre-eminently the father and mother of the other gods and goddesses, especially of Osiris and Isis, and of Set and Nephthys. In one of the lists of the Ennead the name of Osiris is replaced by that of Nu, the primæval water, and this is one of the proofs that Osiris, who becomes later the embodiment of good, was probably originally regarded as the water of the Nile, and Isis as the land of Egypt, enriched and fertilized by the water of the inundation.

Set, who becomes later the embodiment of evil, may have represented originally the desert and unproductive land, and Nephthys, the animal life inhabiting the wilderness; in the more ancient times, therefore, both this god and goddess would have personified enemies to the progress of agriculture and civilization.

If we compare the various versions of the Creation myth, we shall be struck with the family likeness that

often exists between myths belonging to nations living far apart on the face of the earth. The fact is that as children, if left alone, will evolve stories out of their inner consciousness, so these myths have been evolved as answers to the childlike curiosity of primitive peoples, for the mysteries of life and death are everywhere the same.

On the other hand, there are also myths that bear the impress of the land of their origin; they are governed by the character of the country, and the occupation of the people amongst whom they arose. This is the case with the Egyptian version of the story of the Deluge. In the Hebrew record the Deluge is caused by continuous rain, but in the Egyptian by a great inundation of the Nile rising of itself and by its own power.*

In the 175th chapter of the Book of the Dead mention is made of a deluge that should overwhelm the earth. The deceased, who is in great distress, appeals to Tum the creator god. Tum appears to reassure the deceased by telling him to be patient, for his trouble will not endure for long. The god continues: "And further I am going to deface all I have done; this earth will become water (or an ocean) through an inundation, as it was at the beginning. I am he who remains, together with Osiris, and I shall take the form of a small serpent, which no man knows and no god sees."

No reason is given why Tum intended to cover the earth with water, and make it again to become Nu, the primæval ocean, nor is it said that this flood will

* Mention of a Flood in the Book of the Dead, Naville, *Bib. Archæ.*, 1904.

drown mankind. Tum remains afterwards alone with Osiris, and says further that he will exalt Osiris above all gods, that he will give him power over the land of the Nether-world. The text goes on to represent Osiris as voyaging in the boat of the millions (the everlasting boat) to the Isle of Flames, where Horus, his son, will inherit his throne. This tradition belongs to the town of Heracleopolis, the seat of the worship of Osiris, where there was a famous temple of that god; he was called here the "very terrible, he who inspires great fear." The Greeks afterwards identified this Osiris with their hero Heracles, and called this town of Osiris Heracleopolis.

According to this 175th chapter, after the flood had abated Osiris ruled in Heracleopolis, but apparently he had a great struggle there before his rule was established, the broken lines at the end of the text seeming to indicate that all men were summoned to make their submission to the god, and that Set himself came and touched the earth with his face. We read of Osiris "hoeing blood in Suten-hunen" (Heracleopolis), so that evidently there was a great slaughter before Osiris reigned there in peace. These words remind us of the inscription relating to the myth of the destruction of mankind, in which it is said that as she walked, the feet of the goddess Hathor were for several nights covered by the blood that flowed from Heracleopolis.

The myth of the destruction of mankind is found inscribed in the Theban tombs of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties. It relates how that at one time the great god Ra learnt that men had spoken blasphemous things of his majesty. Thereupon the Sun-god summoned a council of the gods to the great temple of

Heliopolis. The council consisted of Keb and Nut, and of Shu and Tafnut, the "fathers and mothers," as Ra calls them, "who were with me in Nu." Ra asks their advice as to how mankind should be punished, and Nu advises her son to direct his Eye against them. In the meantime the hearts of men failed them, and they fled to the mountains for fear of Ra. Ra sends the goddess Hathor as his Eye to destroy mankind; she carries out her work only too well, and the massacre is so great that she treads the blood of men underfoot for several nights when setting off from Heracleopolis. Ra is troubled by the thought that all mankind will be destroyed, and resorts to a stratagem to arrest the hand of the goddess. He sends to Elephantine for a great quantity of mandrakes. Seven thousand wine-jars are filled with a drink composed of the juice of the fruit mixed with the blood of men. The fields through which the goddess has to pass are then flooded with this drink; she came and saw her beautiful face mirrored in the inundation, stooped and drank to excess, and straightway forgot her work of destruction.

This great slaughter in Heracleopolis is alluded to not only in the 175th, but also in the 1st chapter, which speaks of the day of the "Feast of the Hoeing in Suten-hunen," and again in the 18th, where the deceased prays to Thoth, to make him "triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries before the Great Circle of gods at the Great Hoeing in Tattu, on the night of Hoeing in their blood and effecting the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries. The Great Circle of gods at the great Hoeing in Tattu, when the associates of Set arrive, and take the form of goats there, while their

blood runneth down; and this is done according to the judgment of these gods who are in Tattu."

The 18th chapter which is in praise of Osiris, also mentions the "Feast of the Hoeing," the great festival which was celebrated at Heracleopolis in honour of the triumph of Osiris over all his enemies.

The 112th chapter embodies another myth, the myth of the Eye of Horus. Horus seems once upon a time to have been filled with pride, and to have asked his father Ra to let him see even as he saw. Ra did not reprove his son for his presumption, but told him to look at a black pig. Horus did so, and immediately felt a violent pain in his eye; the black pig, in fact, was the god Set in disguise, who was able to wound Horus in the eye when he looked at him. Horus prays to Ra to heal him, and Ra is graciously pleased to do so. The 112th chapter begins with the question of why Pu (the chief town of the northern nome) had been given by Ra to Horus. In answer we read: "It was Ra who gave it to him in amends of the blindness in his eye, in consequence of what Ra said to Horus: Let me look at what is happening in thine eye to-day, and he looked at it. Ra said to Horus: Look, pray, at that black swine. He looked, and a grievous mishap afflicted his eye. Horus said to Ra: Lo, my eye is as though the eye of Set had made a wound in my own eye. And wrath devoured his heart. And Ra said to the gods: Let him be laid on his bed that he may recover. It was Set who had taken the form of a black swine, and he wrought the wound which was in the eye of Horus. And Ra said to the gods: The swine is an abomination to Horus. And the circle of gods who were with him when Horus came to light

in his own children said: Let the sacrificial victims for him be of his oxen, of his goats and of his swine."

As to the question raised by Herodotos of the pig being an impure animal, there is no doubt that in the time of the third and fourth dynasties, the highest dignitaries kept pigs amongst their domestic animals, and certainly had they been impure they would not have been offered in sacrifice. Herodotos, however, tells us that in his time the pig was an abomination in Egypt, so much so that if a man touched one in passing, he straightway plunged into the river, clothes and all, to purify himself. This historian also maintains that swine-herds were never allowed to enter the temples, nor to marry out of their own caste, and that pigs were never sacrificed to any of the gods except to the Moon-god and to Dionysos at the time of the full moon. Whether in later times the fact that the pig was considered an impure animal was due in whole or in part to the influence of this myth of the Eye of Horus we know not.

It is evident in reading these myths, that in the form in which they are introduced into the Book of the Dead they owe much to the teaching of Heliopolis; but though so much contained in the Book is based on the teaching of that city, we find many gods mentioned in it that are not in the list of the Ennead, the nine great gods of Heliopolis. In some cases certain local gods usurp a prominent position owing to the rise in importance of the town in which they held sway. Thus Ptah, the god of Memphis, an elementary god, son of Keb the earth, takes the place of Tum, or Ra, and becomes the creator god. Sokaris, the counterpart of

Ptah of the underworld, takes the place of Osiris, and is often represented as a mummy with blue flesh. Anubis, the god of embalmment, often identified with Osiris, is represented watching over the mummy; he also takes the hand of the deceased (see Frontispiece) in the great judgment scene.

After the eleventh dynasty, when Thebes rose to the greatest power in the country, her local god Amen is introduced into the Book of the Dead as Amen-Ra, the great Sun-god. The word Amen signifies *hidden*, Amen-Ra is often, therefore, the personification of the hidden sun, or the sun of the night.

Thoth, the god of Hermopolis, to whom is constantly attributed the authorship of the Book of the Dead, is the god of letters and of learning, and may be a form of Shu, the god of the air. The divine breath produced voice which became a creative force under the name of Thoth. Both breath and voice are mentioned in the Hebrew scriptures as creative forces: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made: and all the hosts of them by the breath of his mouth" (Ps. xxxiii. 6). After the creation of man also, it is said that God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul."

Pap. of Hunefer, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 29.—THOTH, THE WRITER OF THE BOOK.

Mention has already been made of the 64th chapter of the Book of the Dead that was supposed to have been found under the feet of Thoth in his great temple at Hermopolis (see p. 42). It is quite natural that Thoth, as writer of the book, should sometimes assume as supreme a place as Ra himself.

In the 1st chapter we read, "It is Thoth the everlasting King who is here," and "I am Thoth who effect the triumph of Osiris."

In the 18th chapter there is a litany to Thoth, of which the refrain is "O Thoth, who makest Osiris to triumph over his adversaries, let the deceased be made triumphant over his adversaries." Thoth was supposed to receive his power from Ra, for at the close of the myth of the destruction of mankind, Ra is said to have appointed Thoth as his viceroy to rule over the lower heavens. Thoth is therefore often represented as the Moon-god, for there is every reason to conclude that the Egyptians knew that the moon shone with borrowed light from the sun.

The 95th chapter is the chapter "whereby is opened the place wherein Thoth resteth;" it ends with these words: "I am the protection of the Great One against assault, and I give vigour to the sword which is in the hand of Thoth in the storm." It was the sword of Thoth that effected the triumph of Osiris over his enemies; it was also Thoth who assisted Isis in her distress. The story relates that when Isis had given birth to Horus near the town of Buto in the marshes of the Delta, the infant Horus was bitten by a poisonous snake. Isis in her grief and distress prays to Ra to heal the child, the sun stops in the heavens, and Thoth arrives from the solar bark to bring the magic formula, which shall be for the healing of Horus. Thoth beseeches Isis not to mourn, for the child shall be healed. "I am Thoth," he says, "the eldest of the sons of Ra-Tum, and the cycle of the gods have enjoined me to deliver Horus safe and sound to his mother Isis, and to cure in the same way all who suffer. Horus, Horus, thy double is thy protector, and thy form is thy

safeguard. The venom is dead, its flame is destroyed." Thus was Horus cured by Thoth, and these words became a magic formula for the cure of snakebite for all the inhabitants of the town of Buto. In the 157th chapter we have an allusion to this myth; we read: "Isis has arrived; she hovers over the dwellings, and she searches all the hidden abodes of Horus, when he comes out of the northern marshes, knocking down him whose face is evil. . . . His mother, the Great One, uses her protective power, which she has handed over to Horus." This chapter was ordered to be written on a vulture of gold and placed on the neck of the deceased, possibly as a protection from scorpions and snakes (see p. 79).

The 175th chapter of the Book of the Dead is addressed to Thoth; it is the chapter of "not dying a second death in the Netherworld." In it we read: "I am thy pallet, O Thoth, and I bring to thee thy inkstand." Taken with the title of the chapter, these words probably refer to the judgment scene, where Thoth stands with pallet and ink to write down the result of the weighing of the soul.

The 182nd and 183rd chapters are hymns to Osiris, supposed to be said by Thoth himself. "I am Thoth," says the god, "the lord of justice, who giveth victory to him who is injured, and who taketh the defence of the oppressed."

Thoth, the great god of Hermopolis, and Tum, the god of Heliopolis, are creator gods; Tum by violent muscular action, Thoth by the voice. Tum is the more materialistic in nature, Thoth the more spiritual. The voice properly cadenced became a source of power; the voice making only sounds, not words, was a magical instrument awaking echoes in the Invisible, and setting

forces to work there. The voice without speech was one of the agents in Creation, and as early as the 12th dynasty we have allusions to the creator god opening his mouth that gods may come forth and set to work to accomplish his purpose. Later, words became endued with power when spoken by a rightly-toned voice; the sequence of words also had its true value, they became formulæ of magic force. Afterwards again we find spells accompanied by song becoming incantations and sacramental chants.

Thoth became the Hermes of the Greeks, and the belief in the power of his voice lasted on into our era. In a Greek magical book of the second century, A.D., we read of the heresy of the Marcosians, the followers of a certain Marcus. The Greek magician invokes Hermes in these words: "O Hermes, thou who containest everything in every speech and dialect, as thou wast first celebrated by thy subordinate the Sun, to whom the care of everything is entrusted." In this Greek development of the Egyptian idea the solar forms salute Thoth. The god claps his hands and laughs seven times; at the sound seven gods were born. When he laughed light appeared, and creation took place. When he laughed beings were born; the earth felt the sound and gave utterance to a cry; the waters were divided into three masses. Then were born Destiny, Justice, Opportunity, the Soul. The last first laughed, then wept. The god then produced the serpent Python, and afterwards struck with stupor, he clacked his lips, and an armed being appeared. The god, again struck with stupor, lowered his eyes and exclaimed Iao. The god, who is master of everything, was born of the echo of that sound. The Egyptian myth has lived on in Greek form, as is seen in this most curious account.

We must now return to the Book of the Dead, the mythology of which is illustrated very fully by the 42nd chapter. In this chapter the deceased identifies himself with all the gods, that is with the eternal Sun in all his manifestations. A long list of the limbs of the deceased is given, which are identified with the various gods, illustrating the pantheistic idea that prevails throughout most of the Egyptian religion, for, as the limbs of the deceased form but one body, so all these gods with whom they are identified are but manifestations of one Supreme Being. This identification of all the gods with one Supreme God explains the monotheistic and polytheistic ideas which we find everywhere side by side. Different phases of the sun are represented by different names, just as Ra is adored in seventy-five different forms in the Litany to the Sun. The solar type was the type of a victorious governing god; hence the Pharaohs were identified with Ra, the great Sun-god. In the same way that the Pharaohs might be identified with the Sun-god, so might the elemental and all other gods be identified with him. Inspired by the soul of the one god represented by the sun, they are also identified with each other, and are in as close connection with each other as the act of creation is with its visible phenomena.

Sun-worship, though not indigenous to Egypt, quickly obtained sovereignty over all other forms of religion; it appealed to a people who lived in a blaze of sunshine, and who saw the glories of sunrise and sunset on the Nile.

Side by side with this sun-worship which represents the higher element in Egyptian religion there was always an element of gross materialism represented by their

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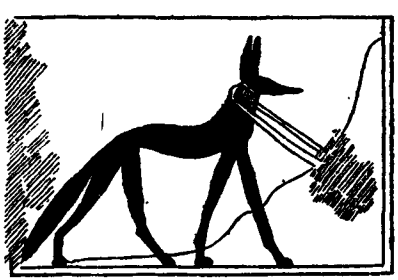
worship of animals. Animal worship in Egypt may have sprung originally from totemism. The native tribes, who inhabited Egypt before the advent of the sun-worshippers, had probably each their totem or distinguishing badge, generally in the form of an animal or an animal's head; this badge was doubtless an object of reverence to that tribe.

Animal worship, therefore, was probably provincial in origin, and it survived throughout Egyptian history especially in the local gods who ruled in certain towns, or provinces. The sun-worshippers did not try in any way to root out this worship of animals, and the two religions lived on side by side in Egypt, or amalgamated as far as it was possible for two principles of so opposite a nature to combine together.

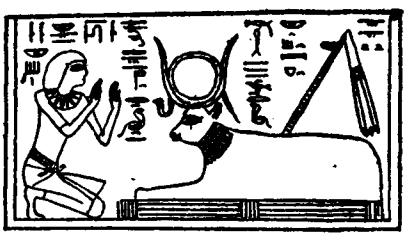
Throughout the Book of the Dead we are struck with this lower element in the mythology. The goddess Nut looks out of the Western Mountain in the form of a cow; Anubis takes the form of a jackal, or wears a jackal's head; Horus and Thoth stand with the head of the hawk or of the ibis on their shoulders; while both Ra and Osiris are sometimes represented as a bull or as a lion. The 1st and 63rd chapters address Osiris as, "O Bull of Amenta"; in the 69th chapter we read, "I am the Bull in the Field; I, even I, Osiris"; while the 28th, 38th, 54th, and 132nd chapters



Pap. Musée Borély, Marseilles.

FIG. 30.—ANIMAL FORMS OF GODS—THE JACKAL.

all speak of Osiris as the god in lion form. In the 62nd chapter, however, it is Ra and not Osiris who says, "I am Ra; I am the god in Lion form; I am the Steer."



Pap. No. 9900, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 31.—THE SUN-GOD IN THE FORM OF A BULL.

In the vignettes, the animal forms most frequently represented as gods are the hawk and the heron, the jackal and the lion, the bull and the cow. As regards combined forms, with the exception of the sphinx and the human-faced bird, they consist generally of the human body, combined with the heads of the above-mentioned animals.

These animal forms or animal heads were possibly for the people a means of identifying the various gods; the heads were probably worn as masks by the priests, who may have personated the gods in the religious services. An element of confusion is introduced by the fact that different sacred animals might often represent different aspects of the same deity, or that the various deities might adopt the same animal symbol. Thus, in the Book of the Dead, we have seen that both Ra and Osiris might assume the form of the lion or of the bull, and in the same way we frequently find the jackal representing Osiris as well as Anubis, indeed there is no doubt that in the early texts these two gods are often identical.

There was a constant interchange of attributes, and the gods may be said to have borrowed each other's

plumes, just as in modern days kings and emperors wear the uniform of different foreign regiments of which they are in honorary command.

As the religious teaching and the government in Egypt became more centralized, the local animal gods became identified with the gods of a purer religion; the fusion of the two was, however, never complete, at any rate not in the minds of the lower classes. Renouf says that "under the semblance of animals the Egyptians worshipped the universal power, which the gods have revealed in the various forms of living nature"; but though these animal forms may have served to explain the attributes of the gods to the people, crude animal worship undoubtedly existed side by side with the highest religious teaching.

The Egyptians, in common with many nations of the ancient world, believed in the real existence of many fantastic animals; for instance, in the representation of a hunt at Beni Hasan, we find a quadruped with a hawk's head, as well as gazelles and antelopes with wings. The god Set also, in the Book of the Dead, wears the head of a curious creature with square ears, and it is impossible to decide whether this head is that of a real or imaginary animal, though Newberry has recently identified him with a species of river hog.

The combination of the human and animal form is found in the Hebrew record, as, for instance, in the four living creatures seen in vision by Ezekiel, and it has been suggested that, as Asia Minor was probably the home of fantastic and combined animal forms, this feature of Egyptian religion may have been due to Asiatic influence. It is certain that in the earliest times the gods in Egypt are represented in pure animal

form, and it is only after the time of the eleventh dynasty, when this influence may have made itself felt, that we find these combined forms in religious representations.

The Greeks also, at any rate in the time of Homer, believed in the existence of griffins and chimæras; they described their habits and their places of abode. The imagination of these ancient folk had never been dwarfed by the hard realities of science, and the "other world" was still peopled, for aught they knew to the contrary, with fearful and wondrous beings. In the oriental fables that have come down to us many fantastic animals are mentioned; we may instance the winged horse, the harpy and the siren: as for the dragon and the mermaid, they have scarcely yet died out; they still lived at any rate in our imagination when we were children. Happily we possess natural history museums, and though our imagination is kept within certain bounds, the diplodocus and other huge reptiles still make us dream of the fantastic and yet real animals that may live beyond our ken.

It is impossible always to unravel the reasons why, in Egypt, certain animals were generally identified with certain gods; totemism may explain much, but not all. It may be that certain animals seemed to the Egyptians to express in a supreme degree certain qualities or powers which they reverenced. The ram, the lion, or the bull might denote strength; the cow, nourishing power; the jackal, watchfulness. The vulture was the mother, we know not why; the ibis was the messenger, the hawk soared to the heights, and may therefore have become an emblem of divine power. As we read in the 66th chapter: "I am Horus; I come forth as a hawk

that soareth aloft, and resteth upon the brow of Ra, on the prow of his bark in Heaven."

The human form combined with that of a bird is a favourite subject with the Egyptians. The soul is the human-faced bird, for the soul needed wings to ascend out of the tomb, and wings to return to re-visit the mummy. Our representations of angels are certainly no more rational than the Egyptian ones of the soul. The Egyptians were in old times, and are still, great lovers of birds; swallows build in their rooms, and pigeons have the best part of the house given up to them; the water birds are also specially beloved by them, and are, therefore, more than usually tame in Egypt.

In the Book of the Dead the Bennu, or heron, and the hawk represent the Sun-gods Ra and Horus.

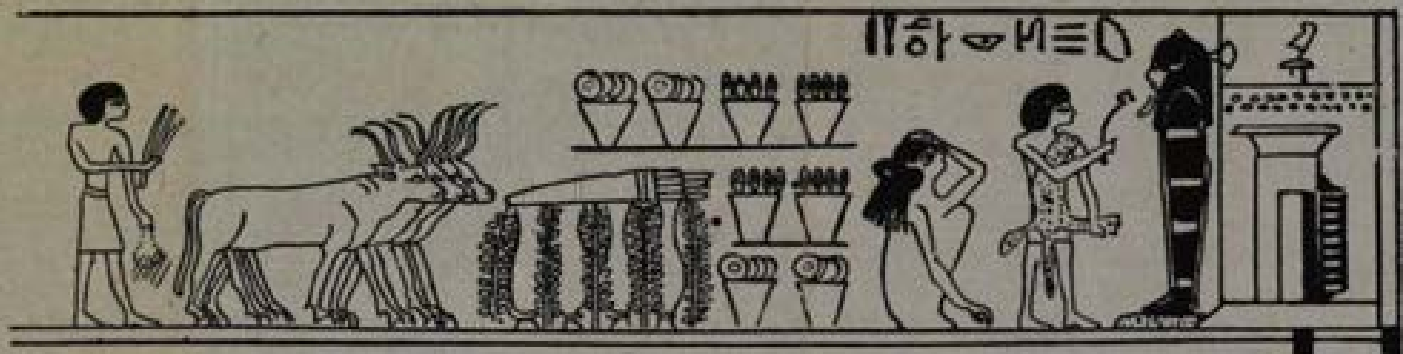
Pap. of Ani, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 33.—THE DIVINE HAWK.

Pap. of Ani, Brit. Mus.

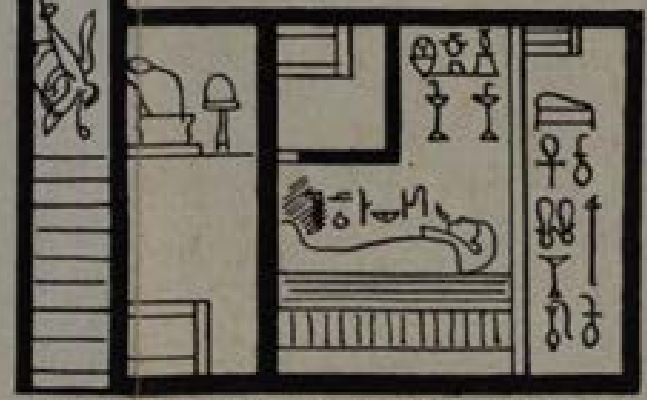
FIG 34.—THE BENNU OR HERON.

Renouf refuses to endorse the popular idea that has identified the Bennu with the Greek Phœnix, which appeared only once in five hundred years; he derives the name Bennu from the word *ben*, "going round," and gives this etymology as the reason that this bird represents



Pap. No. III. 36. Louvre.

FIG 32.—FUNERAL RITES AT THE TOMB.



THE WINGED SOUL DESCENDING LADDER TO THE MUMMY.

To face page 106.

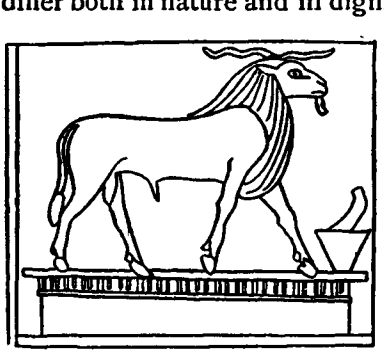
the Sun who daily goes round the heavens. In the 13th chapter of the Book of the Dead, we read of the Sun-god: "I enter as a Hawk, and come forth as a Bennu at Dawn"; the 29th chapter begins: "I am Bennu, the soul of Ra," and in the 71st chapter, Horus is invoked as "O Divine Hawk."

It is possible that in these animal representations of the gods, the Egyptians may have had a rough idea of reverence for the deity which was concealed under the animal form. In the bull Apis, the god Ptah is said to repeat or renew his life; the animal was considered as his living statue, and Herodotos relates a story of the Moon festival, in which the god Khons desires to see the face of his father Ra, who shows himself to his son masked by a ram's head and fleece to veil his glory.

Wiedemann suggests an entirely different reason for the representation of the gods in combined human and animal form. He says that from the point of view of the artist it was far easier to represent the kings in human form conversing with the gods in combined form, than to distinguish the gods by the dignity of their bearing, or the expression of their faces. At the best period of their art the Greeks conquered this difficulty, and there is no doubt about the divine appearance of their gods, whom they have clothed in human form. Though in early Greek times we find traces of animal forms for their gods, for instance Zeus as a bull, Demeter with a horse's head, yet the Greeks were the first to recognize the superiority of the human form above all other. The old Greek legend relates that the wooden horse-headed image of Demeter being burnt, the worship of the goddess was consequently neglected; the Phigalaeans, being warned by an oracle,

employed Onatas to make a bronze statue of the goddess, who appeared to the sculptor in a dream, and told him to place the horse by her side, instead of renewing the old combined form. Notwithstanding this legend, the Greeks did not realize the law of harmony that forbids impossible combinations of the human and animal forms, for even in the finest times of Greek art we have the centaur, not indeed as representative of a divine, but as a sort of heroic type, bridging over the gulf between god and man.

This gulf did not exist for the ancient Egyptian, either between god and man or between man and animal. As Taylor says, the psychical distinction between man and beast was absent, and this fact makes it most difficult for us to place ourselves at their standpoint. To us the divine, the human and the animal differ both in nature and in dignity. The Egyptian could not understand this distinction, and they believed that their gods, in order to manifest themselves to man, would as soon, or perhaps sooner, clothe themselves in animal, rather than in human form. The kings spoke of the solar hawk from which they were descended, or of the egg from which they had emerged, just as certain of the African tribes of to-day claim descent from the bear or the dog.



Pap. of Ani, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 35.—THE GODS CLOTHED THEMSELVES IN ANIMAL FORM.

There was a universal attribution of a living soul to everything; animals could speak and act as human beings, and no hard and fast line was drawn even between the animate and the inanimate. Like many primitive nations, the Egyptians believed in the equality of creation, and in the universal relationship of all living beings by the creation of the gods, of mankind and of the animals by one Father. Their own ancient text relates of the Sun-god: "He has formed the gods and goddesses, created man and woman, the birds and the fishes, the wild animals and the tame herds, and all kinds of reptiles, because he is their father, he created them in the beginning, and they proceeded from him."

After thousands of years this childlike faith of the old world is echoed by one who is essentially a poet of our late civilization, when he says :—

"God made all the creatures, and gave them our love and our fear,
To give sign, we and they are His children, one family here."

CHAPTER V

MORALITY OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD, AND THE MYTH OF OSIRIS

MYTHOLOGY and morality, as we have already learnt, have very little in common, and indeed the same may almost be said of mythology and religion, for though mythology and religion are often intertwined, yet religion tends rather to influence the heart and life, while mythology may perhaps only interest the mind and gratify the curiosity. Myths belong to all nations and to all ages, they assume all shapes, some beautiful, some grotesque, but they have as a rule no influence at all on the morality of the nation. Even when they relate to the gods, it is not at all necessary that those gods should have any moral standard of right or wrong. The myth still lives on in our folk lore, it is eternal, for like some of its own heroes, it has drunk of the waters of immortality.

In the mythology of ancient Egypt, one myth only, the myth of Osiris, stands out pre-eminent and alone as an influence for good; it embodies one of the eternal truths, the struggle between Light and Darkness, between Right and Wrong.

With the exception of the judgment of the dead by Osiris, we can gather very little from the Book of the

Dead that would influence the conduct of the people or their standard of morality. Yet the standard of morality in ancient Egypt was exceptionally high; a proof of this high standard is found in the fact that the status of the women and children in that country was far above that of any other nation of antiquity.

As a first step towards morality there was in Egypt from the earliest times a deification of Law. The gods were all subject to Law, the Earth and the Sky were steadfast, Day and Night succeeded each other with unvarying regularity, the sun, moon, and stars, all obeyed fixed laws. Law ruled the world, and perfect obedience to Law was a divine characteristic. The gods were said to be *nebu maat* lords of Law, the Law or order by which the universe exists. Truth or justice were forms of that Law as applied to human action. The Nile was deified, he obeyed the law of the inundation; storm and wind, rain and cloud, apparently obedient to no fixed law, were only personified, not deified, they might be superhuman, not divine. To the Egyptians, miracles would disprove rather than prove the truth of religion, for the upsetting of the recognized order of nature would have been to them contrary to Law which they reverenced.

Even magic, a heritage from their primitive ancestors, was believed to be the unintelligible expression of some great law they could not grasp or understand. The priests probably fostered a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in the good or bad influence of the stars, in the power of certain formulæ for good or evil, as these superstitions gave them more hold over the people.

Magic, the antithesis of true morality, was the power by which the priests taught the people that the favour

of the gods could be won. Prayer in ancient Egypt was not the expression of need with a fervent desire that the gods out of their great bounty would supply that need, but rather the repetition of magical incantations to constrain the gods to grant the request. Voice, as we have seen, was an important factor in the power of prayer, and the voice that would constrain the gods to answer could only be taught by the priests. The Christian idea also of the efficacy of faith was replaced by the wearing or the possession of charms, which would bestow the power of repeating the right formula at the right moment. Yet though future bliss might be won by the practice of magic arts, it was also thought to be to some extent, at any rate, the reward of a good life on earth.

The eulogies of the deceased on the funeral stelæ may be no truer than those of modern days, yet they show what was the accepted standard of a good life, and even if a man wrote his own epitaph before he died, we see what sort of man he wished posterity to believe him to have been. On these stelæ we read not only of the good deeds the deceased had done for his king or for his country, but also of the good life he had led on earth; he had excelled, so we are told, in what we may especially call the Christian virtues. He tells us, for instance, "Not a little child did I injure, I made no distinction between a stranger and those known to me." Again we read of the deceased that he was the "father of the weak, the support of him who had no mother, he was the protection of the poor, the husband of the widow, the refuge of the orphan." In the Book of the Dead a good burial is said to be the reward of a good life. "The god rejoices in him who practices justice, he

grants an old age to him who has done so; he is beloved and the end of it is a good burial and a sepulchre in Tat-t-sert" (Chap. 183).

We read also in the funeral dirge of Neferhotep—

> "Good for thee will then have been (an honest life),
> Therefore be just and hate transgressions,
> For he who loveth justice (will be blessed).
> The coward and the bold neither can fly (the grave),
> The friendless and proud are alike. . . .
> Then let thy bounty give abundantly, as is fit,
> (Love) truth, and Isis shall bless the good,
> (And thou shalt attain a happy) old age." *

We not only find a high standard of morality in the funerary stelæ, but it is also inculcated in that most remarkable book contained in the Papyrus Prisse now in the Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris. This book consists of moral precepts compiled in the reign of Assa of the fifth dynasty by a prince of the name of Ptah-hotep, and some of them bear a remarkable likeness to our so-called "Proverbs of Solomon." † Ptah-hotep, speaking to his son, warns him against the sin of pride. He tells him not to be "arrogant because of that which thou knowest: deal with the ignorant as with the learned, for the barriers of art are not closed, no artist being in possession of the perfection to which he should aspire. Good words are more difficult to find than the emerald."

Truth is a rare virtue amongst Orientals, nevertheless Ptah-hotep insists even on verbal accuracy: "If thou art one of those who bring the messages of one great man to another, conform thyself exactly to that wherewith he has charged thee. . . . he who perverts the truthfulness of his way in order to repeat only what

* "Song of the Harper," translated by Ludwig Stern.

† "The Precepts of Ptah-hotep," translated by P. Virey.

produces pleasure in the words of every man great or small is a detestable person." When we come to consider the negative confession in the Book of the Dead we shall find there a similar standard of truthfulness: "I have not altered a story in the telling of it."

Humility and industry are both virtues commended in these precepts, not only on account of the worldly prosperity they will bring, but also from an ethical point of view with regard to conduct towards those who are the less fortunate of this world. We read: "If thou abasest thyself in obeying a superior, thy conduct is entirely good before God. Knowing who ought to obey and who ought to command, do not lift up thy heart against him. As thou knowest that in him is authority, be respectful towards him as belonging to him. Be active during the time of thine existence, doing more than is commanded. Do not spoil the time of thy activity; he is a blameworthy person who makes a bad use of his moments. Do not lose the daily opportunity of increasing that which thy house possesses. Activity produces riches, and riches do not endure when it slackens. If thou hast become great after having been little, if thou hast become rich after having been poor, when thou art at the head of the city, know how not to take advantage of the fact that thou hast reached the first rank, harden not thy heart because of thy elevation, thou art become only the steward of the good things of God. Put not behind thee the neighbour who is like unto thee; be unto him as a companion."

Anger is another fault that is continually reproved in these precepts; in fact, this wise prince of ancient Egypt looks down upon bad temper as unworthy of

a wise man. He says: "If thou findest a disputant while he is hot, do not get into a passion with him, . . . imitate one who does not stir. Thou hast the advantage over him, if thou keepest silence when he is uttering evil words; do not despise him because thou art not of the same opinion. Be not angry against him when he is wrong; away with such a thing. If thou desirest that thy conduct should be good and preserved from all evil, keep thyself from every attack of bad humour. It is a fatal malady which leads to discord . . . between fathers and mothers, as well as between brothers and sisters, it causes the wife and husband to hate each other; it contains all kinds of wickedness, it embodies all kinds of wrong. Be not of an irritable temper as regards that which happens beside thee, grumble not over thine own affairs. It is wrong to get into a passion with one's neighbours, to be no longer master of one's words."

Ptah-hotep goes a step further; he not only requires that a man should not lose his temper, he must also listen with patience and consideration, especially if he is in the position of prefect or judge. He says: "If thou art a leader of peace, listen to the discourse of the petitioner. Be not abrupt with him that would trouble him. Say not to him, 'Thou hast already recounted this.' Indulgence will encourage him to accomplish the object of his coming. As for being abrupt with the complainant because he described what passed when the injury was done, instead of complaining of the injury itself, let it not be. The way to obtain a clear explanation is to listen with patience. A judge must not only be patient, he must be wise in council. If thou art a wise man sitting in the council of thy

lord, direct thy thought towards that which is wise. Be silent rather than scatter thy words. When thou speakest, know that which can be brought against thee. . . . It is contradiction which puts it to the proof. If thou art powerful, respect knowledge and calmness of language. Command only to direct, to be absolute is to run into evil. Let not thy heart be haughty, neither let it be mean."

The highest of all duties, however, according to Ptah-hotep, is the right education of children; this duty he considers to be of far more importance than the acquiring of wealth. The duty of a son to his father is couched in almost the same words as the fifth commandment, and yet Ptah-hotep lived perhaps two thousand years before the time of Moses. He says: "The son who accepts the instruction of his father will grow old on that account. What God loves is that one should attend; if one attends not, it is abhorrent to God. A son who attends is like a follower of Horus; he is ever happy after having attended. He becomes great, he arrives at dignity, he gives the same lessons to his children. Take not away, then,* a word from (the ancient teaching) and add one not; put not one thing in place of another; beware of uncovering (the rebellious ideas) which arise in thee, but teach according to the words of the wise. Verily a good son is one of the gifts of God, a son who does even better than he is told to do."

Pride, anger, ambition, arrogance, falsehood, meanness, idleness, and disobedience, such are the vices denounced by Ptah-hotep more than three thousand years before our era. With the exception of the promise of old

* *Cf.* Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

age to the son who obeys his father, there is very little allusion to reward for virtue, or to punishment for vice, either in these ancient precepts or in the Book of the Dead, or, indeed, in any of the other religious literature of ancient Egypt. In one place, however, Ptah-hotep certainly speaks of the punishment of one of the faults he condemns; he also seems to make the one the consequence of the other; he says: "Inspire not man with fear, else God will fight against thee in the same manner."

The penitential side of religion, confession and repentance for sin, so strongly developed amongst the ancient Babylonians and Hebrews, finds no place in Egyptian religious lore, or only comes in at a late period with foreign influence.

Sacrifices in ancient Egypt were offerings to the gods, rather than atonement for sin. There is, however, one passage that occurs in the myth of the destruction of men, which may signify that sacrifices were originally instituted with the idea of atonement. In this myth, after the Sun-god Ra has spared the rest of mankind, men come and offer to fight for Ra against his enemies, and Ra says to them, "Your sins are behind you; murder atones for murder, hence comes sacrifice." If these words mean that the death of some had atoned for the sin of all who had rebelled, and that sacrifices were instituted to commemorate this fact, then, indeed, as Naville remarks, it is a subject that deserves the greatest consideration, as this Egyptian idea approaches so nearly the Hebrew conception of sacrifice.

The idea of sacrifice for sin can scarcely be said to have any place in the Book of the Dead; the morality of that book is summed up in the 125th chapter, in

the negative confession recited by the deceased in the great judgment scene. But here, instead of confessing his sins, the deceased boasts of his sinlessness, knowing that a perfect life on this earth was the title-deed for deification in the next world. In one place (chapter 183) the deceased is even said to identify himself with Thoth in the presence of Osiris; he says: "I have come to thee; my hands bring Maat (Truth), my heart does not contain any falsehood. . . . I have done no evil thing on earth; I have never wronged a man of his property. I am Thoth, the perfect and pure writer; my hands are pure; I have put away all evil things. I write justice and I hate evil; for I am the writing reed of the Inviolate god,* who utters his words, and whose words are written in the two earths."

Osiris, the great judge of the dead, in whose presence the deceased recites the above words, is often called the sun of the night; but in the earliest times he was not a sun-god at all; it may rather be said that the Egyptians believed him to have been a wise and mighty king of Upper Egypt, beloved of his people and mourned at his death, after which his tomb at Abydos became, through long ages, the centre of his worship. Afterwards, when he became the god of the dead, he was identified by the priests with the sun of the night.

In the earliest myths Osiris was the divine ancestor of man, the son of Keb the earth, and of Nut the heaven, and many cities of Egypt laid claim to the honour of being his birthplace. Osiris, with his brother Set and his two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, form as it were a divine cycle with Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, in whom Osiris re-emerges as the new sun. Osiris

* Cf. "Purgatorio," Canto XXIV. 52–54.

is killed by his brother Set to explain the origin of death; in the Hebrew scriptures, also, brother kills brother that death may come into the world.

The Egyptians realized that life and death are allied, that they are brothers, that they exist side by side, one

Pap. of Sutimes, Louvre.

FIG. 36.—OSIRIS, THE JUDGE OF THE DEAD.

being the consequence of the other, for they understood full well that without life there can be no death, and without death there can be no rising to new life.

Erman relates a version of the myth of Osiris in which it is said that Set with his accomplices conspired against the life of Osiris; he took the measure of

Osiris' body and made a richly ornamented and beautiful chest, and at a great feast he offered this chest to any one whom it fitted. Osiris got into the chest, the conspirators nailed down the cover, poured melted lead over it, and threw it into the Tanitic mouth of the Nile. Isis, the wife or sister of Osiris, is then advised by Thoth to hide in the marshes of the Delta. Accompanied by seven scorpions, she wanders forth, and being weary sits down near the entrance of a house for women, to which the mistress refuses to allow her to enter. One of the scorpions crawls under the door and stings the child of the mistress, and Isis, her heart touched by the cries of the child, heals the sting. Soon after, Isis gives birth to Horus, and leaving the child in the care of the goddess of the north, she goes forth, protected by Anubis, to seek the body of Osiris. She finds the chest cast up by the sea on the Phœnician coast of Byblos; a tree had grown round it, and the tree was so beautiful that the king had made it a pillar in his palace. Isis enters the service of the king as a nurse, and revealing herself as a goddess she draws the chest out of the pillar. Isis then brings the chest by ship to Egypt, and having hidden it she went into the Delta to search for her son. During her absence Set, who was out hunting one night in the moonlight, finds the corpse, and tearing it to pieces he scatters them to the four winds. Isis then voyages forth in a boat to find the limbs of Osiris, and wherever she finds one she buries it. Hence we read of many burialplaces as well as birthplaces for Osiris; for instance, Busiris laid claim to be the burialplace of his back; Abydos, of his head. Busiris also laid claim to the birthplace of Osiris; and in the Book of the Dead, Osiris is frequently called the god of that

city. Busiris of the Book of the Dead, however, is not the town of Busiris in the Delta, but corresponds to the east, to the rising sun, just as Abydos, the chief burial-place of Osiris, corresponds to the west, the region of sunset.

Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, grew up to avenge his father, to bring the limbs together, to reconstitute the body, and to raise it to life. He conquers Set, though with the loss of one eye. After the combat, Thoth, the god of wisdom, heals the wounds of the gods. Set acknowledges himself beaten, and Horus rules on earth in place of his father Osiris, who reigns in the nether-world over the deceased as "King of Eternity." The dismemberment of the body of Osiris by Set finds its analogy in the dismemberment of bodies in the prehistoric burials in Egypt before the era of mummification.

There are two classes of prehistoric graves: in the one the bodies are found with the knees bent up against the chest and the arms round them, in what has been called the embryonic attitude. Naville, however, believes this position rather to be that of a figure seated on the ground in the customary posture of an Oriental. It may be that the body was placed in this position of rest and then turned on the side and buried, so that with food and drink beside him the deceased might well feel as if he were resting in his home.

Herodotos probably refers to these graves when he tells us of a certain African race who took care always to place a dying man in a seated position that his soul might not quit his body when he was extended on his back. In the recent excavations at Abydos, Naville has found these burials side by side with the extended

burials, showing that the two customs existed contemporaneously.

In the second class of primitive burials the body has been decapitated and dismembered, in some cases immediately after death, in others some time after burial. The bones of many of these bodies were subsequently buried together without any care as to their order. Petrie has suggested sacramental cannibalism as a reason for these burials, while Wiedemann considers that this custom of dismemberment was practised in order to allow the soul to escape from its earthly tenement, in the same way that broken objects were placed in the tombs that their spirits might also escape and join the spirit of the deceased. Naville suggests also that the heads of statues * recently found at Abusir may have been buried with the dead, in consequence of the old tradition of decapitation of the dead body.

The dismemberment of the body of Osiris is frequently referred to in the pyramid texts; in that of Merenra, for instance, Horus is said to come to the king to purify him, to bring him back to life; to reunite his bones, having found those that were carried off by the water. Horus, the avenger of his father Osiris, reunites all that had been separated from the body of the king Osiris Merenra, and avenges the king Osiris Merenra on him who had caused him pain. Horus speaks of the king Merenra as his father Osiris, and accomplishes for him all that he had done for Osiris himself, so that the body of Merenra is re-constituted and lives again, even as Osiris lived again after being raised to life. This text shows us that the myth of Osiris was certainly anterior to the pyramid age, and that the

* "Les Têtes de Pierre," Naville, Genève, 1909.

practice of dismemberment, which had been a religious custom, was then held in the greatest horror.

The Book of the Dead is full of references to this practice. In the 177th chapter, a copy of which is found in the pyramid of Unas, we read: "I have raised for thee thy head; take possession of it . . . thy head will not perish, and what thou hast done before men and gods will not be destroyed."

Both the 43rd and the 50th chapters also were ordered to be recited that the deceased might not come to the "divine Block of Execution," and that his head should not be cut off in the other world. In the 43rd chapter we read: "I am a prince, the son of a prince; a flame, the son of a flame, whose head is restored to him after it hath been cut off. The head of Osiris is not taken from him, and my head shall not be taken from me. I raise myself up, I renew myself, and I grow young again. I am Osiris." Thus the deceased, by virtue of being identified with Osiris, escapes the danger of dismemberment of his body.

In the 165th chapter a prayer is offered for the deceased: "Bring him towards the gate of eternity, grant him to rest in the Tuat; that his flesh may be entire in the Nether-world; that his soul may be powerful, that his body may be complete;" and in the 181st chapter it is said of the deceased, "Thy son Horus avenges thee, he destroys all that is wrong in thee; he has fastened to thee thy flesh, he has set thy limbs and joined thy bones."

The funeral ceremonies also, which have their counterpart in some of the chapters of the Book of the Dead, were performed (as we have seen at the beginning of this volume) for the special purpose of reconstituting

and reanimating the mummy of the deceased, for giving him his mouth (chapters 21–23), and his heart (chapters 26–30); whilst the 178th chapter, found also in the pyramid texts, is the "chapter of raising the body, of giving it eyes, of making it possess ears, of fixing its head, of putting it on its base."

By the recitation of these chapters, even if the body of the deceased had suffered dismemberment as Osiris had suffered, Horus would avenge him and would reconstitute and reanimate his body even as he had done for his father Osiris. As Osiris had died, so all who died were identified with Osiris; death made them one with him, and being one with him, they were raised to life again, even as he had been raised by the power of Horus his son.

All through the Book of the Dead the deceased is identified with Osiris. In the 45th chapter, for instance, we read: "Here is the Osiris N., motionless—motionless like Osiris, motionless his limbs like Osiris. Let them not remain motionless, let them not corrupt. They move not, they stir not; be it done for me as for Osiris. I am Osiris." Having died with Osiris, and being raised from the dead with Osiris, the deceased has to appear before Osiris as his judge in the nether-world. Osiris is the appointed judge of mankind, not only because he is the divine king of the nether-world, but also because he, having been man, knows the nature and temptations of man, and the laws of right and wrong which mankind are bound to follow on earth.

The judgment scene in the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead consists of four parts—the arrival of the deceased at the great hall of Osiris, the negative confession, the weighing of the soul, and the long concluding

Pap. of Ani, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 37.—THE DECEASED IN THE JUDGMENT HALL.

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speech. We neither know whether the judgment was supposed to take place immediately after death, nor even whether every soul was supposed to go through this ordeal; however that might be, it is certain that the Egyptians realized the extreme importance of this chapter, as they were careful to select it as one of those to be buried with almost every mummy. The judgment scene may also occur in the 132nd chapter, and at the end of the first chapter. For instance, in the papyrus of Ani, where the closing words of the first chapter are evidently intended to be said after the weighing of the soul, we read: "Let him enter boldly, and come out in peace at the house of Osiris without hindrance and without repulse. He is triumphant, and his orders are executed at the house of Osiris. No lightness of his in the scale has been found, and the balance is disburdened of his case."

The important scene of the weighing of the soul takes place in the great hall of the two truths in the Heliopolis of the nether-world. The two goddesses of truth stand at the eastern and western ends of the hall, guarding the entrance and the exit. The deceased, accompanied by his wife, approaches the entrance with arms raised in adoration; he then addresses Osiris, declaring that he knows his name, and the name of the gods who are with him. After making a preliminary confession, he cries, "I am pure, I am pure; may no evil happen to me in the hall of justice." Anubis then comes forward and leads him into the presence of his judge.

Osiris is seated on a throne in a naos at the further end of the hall. Under the throne are the four children of Horus standing on a beautiful lotus rising from the

waters; while all round the hall are the forty-two gods of the various heavenly places, who form the divine jury to approve or disapprove of the sentence, which will be passed after the soul has been weighed, and the deceased has recited his negative confession of the forty-two sins. On being presented to Osiris, the deceased says: "Hail to thee, prince of Amenta, Unneferu (good being), who presidest in Abydos, I come to thee with Righteousness; without sin upon me. I am not knowingly a speaker of wrong; I am not given to duplicity. . . . Grant me an abiding-place in the nether-world, my permanent allotment in the Sechet-hotepu (the Elysian Fields)." The 147th chapter, which is one of the chapters of the arrival of the deceased at the house of Osiris, asserts that "every deceased to whom this chapter is read is like the lord of eternity; he is of one substance with Osiris, and in no place has he to encounter a great fight."

In front of Osiris is the balance, close to which stands Thoth, the god of wisdom, to verify the weighing. Thoth is often represented here as a cynocephalic ape, instead of being ibis-headed; this may be an earlier form of the god. On the other side of the balance is seated a monster, ready to devour the deceased should he be condemned. This devourer, who does not appear in the earlier papyri, is a composite animal, part lion, part crocodile, part hippopotamus, a horrible creature calculated to strike terror into the heart of evil-doers. We never find any record that this monster has devoured any of those who come to the judgment-seat of Osiris, and though in one representation a black pig is being driven away, there is no conclusive reason for us to suppose that the deceased has been doomed to return to the

earth in this form. Whether the wicked were annihilated or devoured the Book of the Dead does not tell

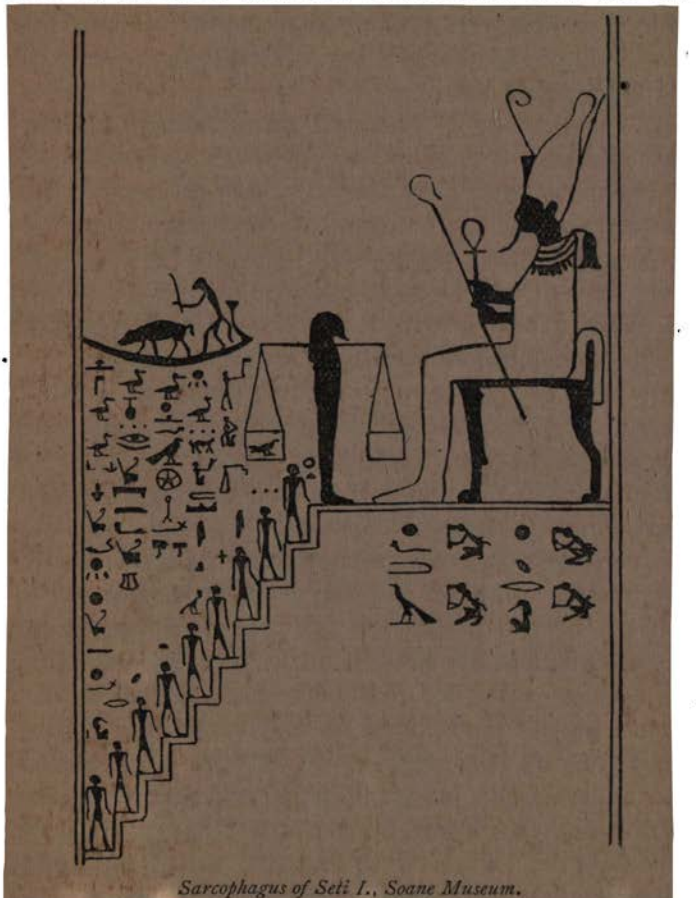


FIG. 38.—A PIG IS DRIVEN AWAY FROM THE PRESENCE OF OSIRIS, THE JUDGE.

us, unless the passages concerning burning, torture, and suffering may refer to the punishment of the wicked

as well as to the victory of Light over the powers of Darkness. All who appear before the judgment-seat of Osiris are supposed to be without fault; all who pass out of that judgment-hall are represented as the good, the triumphant.

The weighing of the soul was a favourite subject not only with the ancient Egyptians but also with the Christians of mediæval times. Many frescoes of this subject are still extant, one of the most remarkable in England being that found in the church of South Leigh, near Oxford.

Petrie* has described the balance of the ancient Egyptian papyri; he says that the beam was suspended by a loop or ring from a bracket; below the beam a long tongue was attached, while a plummet hung down the tongue to test the level of the beam. The god Thoth watches this plummet to see if the tongue remains vertical and the beam horizontal.

The deceased advances to the balance and in one of the scales he sees his own heart, and in the other a little figure of the goddess of Truth, or the feather which is her symbol. The heart represents the conduct or conscience of the deceased; out of his own mouth he will be justified or condemned, for his own heart knoweth how oft he hath offended. The deceased now addresses his heart: "Heart, mine which is that of my mother. Heart, mine which I had upon earth. Raise not thyself in evidence against me. Be not mine adversary before the Divine Circle; let there be no fall of the scale against me in presence of the great god, Lord of Amenta." If he repeats these words aright the heart will listen to his prayer, and will be found to

* "A Season in Egypt," p. 42.

balance exactly with truth, to weigh neither too heavy nor too light.

The deceased must now make his defence; he must call each of the forty-two gods to witness that he has not committed any one of the forty-two mortal sins. In the representation of the hall of justice of Thothmes III., forty books of the law are placed upon mats with fringed edges in front of the superintendent of the hall, and the number being so nearly the same, there is probably a connection between the forty-two mortal sins and the forty books of the law.*

The negative confession pronounced by the deceased contains perhaps the highest morality to be found in the Book of the Dead; or, indeed, in any religious book of the ancient world. The following are some of the points in the preliminary and principal confessions:—

"I am not a doer of wrong to men.
I am not one who telleth lies instead of truth.
I am not a teller of tales.
I cause not famine.
I cause not weeping.
I am not a murderer.
I give no orders for murder.
I reduce not the offerings in the temples.
I lessen not the cakes of the gods.
I rob not the dead of their funeral food.
I tamper not with the tongue of the balance.
I snatch not the milk from the mouth of babes.
I drive not the cattle from their pastures.
I net not the birds of the manors of the gods.

* "A Short History of Ancient Egypt," p. 87 (Newberry and Garstang).

I catch not the fish of their ponds.
I stop not the water at its appointed time.
I divide not an arm of the water in its course.
I am not fraudulent in measures of grain.
I ám not sluggish.
I am not an eavesdropper.
I am not one of prating tongue.
I trouble not myself except with my own affairs.
I commit not adultery.
I am not hot of speech.
I lend not a deaf ear to the words of righteousness.
I am not given to cursing.
I put no check upon the water in its flow.
I have no unjust preferences.
I have no strong desire except for my own property."

These are perhaps the most striking of the forty-two points in the negative confession; and it is very interesting to note how many of these sins are the same as those forbidden in the ten commandments.

The Egyptian duty to God is more restricted than that of the Hebrews, for the only sins against the gods that are mentioned here are cursing and robbing the gods and the temples of their dues. The duty to one's neighbour is placed exactly on the same plane as one's duty to God; and the sins forbidden by the last five commandments, murder, theft, adultery, false witness, and covetousness — that is, the strong desire for the property of others—are amongst the mortal sins of the negative confession. Added thereto are falsehood, eavesdropping, meddling with the affairs of others, anger, laziness, partiality, and tale-bearing; that the Egyptian should consider the soul guilty of such sins to be worthy of condemnation gives an idea of the

moral rectitude required of those who, when weighed in the balance, were not found wanting.

Certain sins mentioned in the negative confession are peculiarly Egyptian; for instance, "I divide not an arm of the water in its course," and "I put no check on the water in its flow." All who know Egypt at the present day must realize the value of water in that country, and the temptation to an agriculturist of surreptitiously turning the water belonging to his neighbour to his own plot of ground. Even as late as in Roman times wilful damage to the water supply in Egypt was punishable by death.

If we compare the morality of the negative confession with that of the precepts of Ptah-hotep, we see that in both the virtues of truth, honesty, kindness, gentleness, charity, industry, and contentment take a high place. The negative confession goes further even than the precepts of Ptah-hotep in declaring sins of omission as well as those of commission to be unworthy of him who would attain to future bliss.

During the weighing of the heart by Thoth the deceased pronounces the negative confession, and then prays: "I am the soul of Osiris and rest in him. Let me pass through the gateway, and let them raise acclamation when they see me. Let me enter as I will and come forth at my pleasure, and make my way without there being found any defect or any evil attaching to me" (chapter 127).

After the ceremony of the weighing is over the deceased is pronounced righteous and true, and is allowed by Osiris to go forth wherever he shall please. Food and drink and a pure garment are given to him in answer to his prayer: "Grant me bread, the right of

appearance at the tables of the lords of Maat, . . . and the receiving of cakes before thee." A prayer is also offered to the gods to "grant a pure garment to the soul of the deceased; give him to be glorious by it and destroy all that was wrong in him." After which we read: "This pure garment has been allotted to him for ever, for eternity, for you destroy all that is wrong in him."

The deceased then receives back his heart, the emblem of his life, and with the possession of his heart his future life is assured. We never read of any refusal on the part of the judge to allow the heart to be given back to the deceased; indeed, this would scarcely be possible, as all who stand before the judgment seat claim the right of acquittal, all are said to be Osiris, and as Osiris they cannot be condemned.

Thus ends the myth of Osiris, that myth which appeals far more to the heart of man than the unwavering triumph of Ra, for men, whose best efforts often end in failure, could hope for sympathy and help from Osiris, who had also conquered through failure and by the help of another.

Like the Greek myth of Demeter and Persephone, this myth of Osiris is one of those allegories full of poetry and beauty that touch the heart of all humanity; it belongs indeed as much to the modern as to the ancient world. We find, in fact, that in Greek and Roman times Egyptian temples were specially consecrated to the myth of Osiris in Italy, Spain, and France, and one representation of Osiris fighting with Apap, the personification of Evil, is still perpetuated on our coins; it is the original of our St. George and the Dragon.

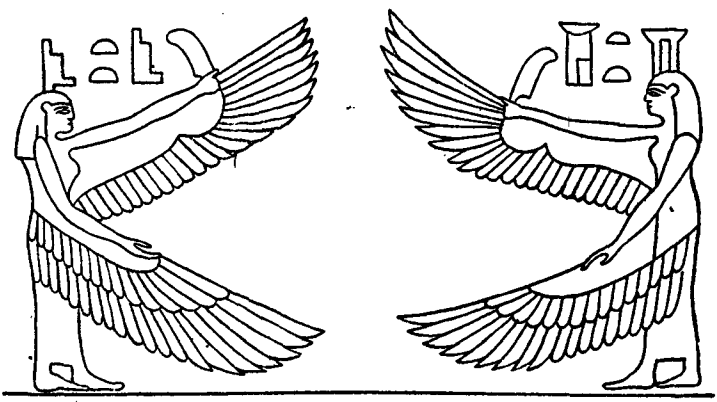
Osiris, the divine ancestor of man, became the type of Light and of all goodness, while his brother Set became the type of Darkness and of all evil. The story of the slaying of Osiris by Set, and the subsequent triumph of Right by the avenging of his death by Horus, his son, became the type of human life, in which evil is conquered by good with seeming failure and final victory.

In ancient Egypt Set was not only the enemy of Osiris but the enemy of all mankind; he had the power to kill man even as he had killed Osiris. Those, however, who knew the right formulæ, and could prove that they were followers of Horus, put themselves under the protection of Osiris, they became Osiris, for he lent them his form so that they might be triumphant over the powers of Darkness, and serve him as the followers of Horus in a world of bliss.

When Osiris died, his sisters, Isis and Nephthys, are said to have mourned for him in words that were probably used afterwards as words of lamentation at the funeral of his followers. A copy of the book containing these lamentations has come down to us from Ptolemaic times,* and in it we find that a priest was ordered to recite the words therein, while two beautiful women, with the names of Isis and Nephthys on their shoulders, sat on the ground with crystal glasses of water in their right hands, and loaves of bread made in Memphis in their left. We read: "Come to thine abode, I see thee no more. My heart is full of bitterness on account of thee. I seek thee to behold thee; will it be long ere I seek thee? Beholding thee is happiness. I am thy sister who loveth

* "Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys," translated by Horrack.

thee on earth; no one else hath loved thee more than I, thy sister. . . . Life for us is to behold thy countenance; let not thy face be turned from us; the joy of our hearts is to contemplate thee. O Sovereign, our hearts are happy in seeing thee. I am Nephthys, thy sister who loveth thee. Thine enemy is vanquished, he no longer existeth. I am with thee, protecting thy members for ever and eternally."



Mummy Case, Leyden Museum.

FIG. 39.—ISIS AND NEPHTHYS.

The tears and prayers of Isis and Nephthys were believed in some way to have been instrumental in the raising of Osiris; the same lamentations might, therefore, help to renew the life of all who died, the followers of Osiris, who would serve him in the nether-world to all eternity.

It remains now for us to consider the effect produced on the morality of the nation by this myth of Osiris. For a high standard of morality it is necessary to have a personal imitation of some great and good being who

becomes the personification of all that is right; we find this in the Christian and Buddhist religions as well as in that of ancient Egypt. It was Osiris who supplied this need to the old inhabitants of the Nile; he was the prototype of virtue and of virtue persecuted; he was both human and divine, a man born into this world to instruct and to serve other men both by his life and by his death; a god who received all into his kingdom after death, on condition that they were identified with him, and had followed his example in leading a blameless life on earth.

The descriptions of the life of the deceased in the kingdom of Osiris are both contradictory and incoherent, yet the "triumphant," as they are called, are, at any rate, supposed to be in a state of bliss in the other world. Some scholars have considered that the ancient Egyptians, like the Buddhists, believed the final and supreme bliss to consist of absorption into the Deity. We certainly read in the Book of the Dead of life with the gods, of eating and drinking divine food and drink, of identification and assimilation not only with Osiris but with the other gods; yet it seems doubtful whether the deceased was ever supposed entirely to lose his identity and humanity, and to be absorbed as a spark of the divine into the fire of the Sun-god.

As regards morality, however, the important point is that in order to become an Osiris in the other world, man had to imitate him in this world, he had to be like him, without fault, divine. His aim and object during life as well as his ideal after death was absolute perfection. The moralists of ancient Egypt, therefore, laid down the strictest rules as to the duty of one

man towards another, they taught, indeed, a higher standard of morality than can be attained by mortal man. Morality has been said to be independent of religion, but in ancient Egypt morality was the best element of the religion of the people, and it was concerned with the destiny of man, which is an essential part of all religions. In the Egypt of old times all men, both rich and poor, provided they were without fault, had the right of becoming an Osiris in the next world, and this common hope had a certain socialistic effect in levelling all earthly distinctions of rank and position.

To be like Osiris, it was not enough to do no harm. Osiris had spent his life in doing good; there was therefore a positive as well as a negative side to the virtues required. Thus we find the deceased declaring not only that he had done no injustice and caused no grief, but also that he had given * "food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked;" he had also given the "sacred food to the gods, the funeral repasts to the pure spirits." After this enumeration of the good deeds of the deceased, we read: "There is no fault in him, no informer riseth up against him. He liveth in the truth; he doth nourish himself with truth. The gods are satisfied with all that he hath done."

Thus the ancient Egyptian was supposed in all his actions and in every circumstance of his life to follow the example of Osiris, the Good Being, to bear in himself during this life the image of the divine Osiris, so that by that means he might become in truth an Osiris after death. As Revillout says, many points in Egyptian religion or mythology may have developed, they may

* "Book of Respirations," translated by Horrack.

have changed, or passed away with the evolution of ages; but this idea must remain ever steadfast and immovable: Osiris was the Good Being, the Shining One; mankind was called to imitate him, to be good as he was good.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER RELIGIOUS LITERATURE AND THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

NO work on the Book of the Dead, however brief, would be complete without some reference to the other religious literature of ancient Egypt that is closely allied to that book. This literature relates chiefly to Osiris, the god of the dead, and to Ra, the great Sun-god.

Osiris, as we have seen, is the most human of all the gods of ancient Egypt; he is also the central motive of all that relates to morality of life. Ra, the great Sun-god, was worshipped by the whole nation with reverence and awe, but Osiris lived in the hearts of the people, and it was to him they looked for protection in the dreaded world of the future.

The 182nd and 183rd chapters of the Book of the Dead are two hymns of adoration to Osiris, supposed to be spoken by Thoth himself; and, in addition to these, there is another hymn to Osiris, on a stela found in the tomb of a man named Amen-em-ha; it is interesting to compare this hymn with those in the Book of the Dead. The stela, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, is probably of the time of the eighteenth dynasty; but the hymn is evidently a copy

of a more ancient work, as early, or even earlier, than the twelfth dynasty.* In this hymn Osiris is described as the author of all good. Identified with the Nile, he causes the land of Egypt to rejoice and to be fertile; identified with the sun, he causes all things to live.

The hymn goes on to praise Isis, the sister of Osiris, who has "saved him, scattering the rebels, repelling evil, uttering the word with the incantations of her mouth. Expert is her tongue, voice is not wanting to her, and her speech is effectual. Isis the charmer, the avenger of her brother, who seeks him without failing, who traverses this earth with lamentations without resting before she has found him, creating the light with her feathers, producing the wind with her wings, celebrating the sacred dances and depositing her brother in the tomb, raising the remains of the god with the immovable heart."

In return for this worship and praise, Osiris was supposed to give to his servant Amen-em-ha, the superintendent of oxen, all sorts of good gifts, so that after death he might "take possession of the Nile, appear in the form of a living soul, see the solar disk at dawn, enter and depart by the *rostau* (the defiles leading from this world to the next); so that this soul may not be driven into the other world, but be received among those who chant in the presence of the great god, and who share in the offerings laid upon his altar; so that it breathes the delicious breezes of the north, and drinks of the current of the river."

Nofri-t-ari, the wife of Amen-em-ha, hoped to secure all these blessings to her beloved husband by placing in his tomb the stela with this hymn to Osiris.

One of the earliest conceptions of Osiris was

* "Hymn to Osiris," translated by Mallet.

probably, as we have seen, a personification of the Nile, and in the vignettes of the Book of the Dead he is often represented with a green face as an emblem of the fertility of the earth. Though this conception of Osiris seems to have been forgotten in later ages, when Osiris became especially the god of the dead, yet the Nile was always worshipped as a deity, and the belief in the celestial origin of the river lasted on in Egypt even to mediæval times. A hymn to the Nile has come down to us from the Theban period, in which the ancient Egyptians express their adoration of the Nile in almost the same terms as they used in worshipping the Sun-god.*

We read: "Hail to thee, O Nile, who manifesteth thyself over this land, and comest to give life to Egypt. Mysterious is thy issuing forth from the darkness on this day whereon it is celebrated. Watering the orchards created by Ra, to cause all the cattle to live. Thou givest the earth to drink, inexhaustible one. . . . Lord of the fish during the inundation, no bird alights on the crops. Thou createst the corn, thou bringest forth the barley, assuring perpetuity to the temples. If thou ceasest thy toil and thy work, then all that exists is in anguish. If the gods suffer in Heaven, then the faces of men waste away . . . he brings the offerings, as chief of provisioning; he is the creator of all good things, as master of energy, full of sweetness in his choice. If offerings are made, it is thanks to him. He brings forth the herbage for the flocks, and sees that each god receives his sacrifices. All that depends on him is a precious incense. He spreads himself over Egypt, filling the granaries, renewing the marts, watching over the goods of the unhappy. . . . No servitors has he, no bearers of offerings.

* "Hymn to the Nile," translated by Guieysse.

He is not enticed by incantations. None knows the place where he dwells, none discovers his retreat by the power of a hidden spell. No dwelling is there which may contain thee. None penetrates within thy heart. Thy young men, thy children applaud thee and render unto thee royal homage. . . . He shines when he issues forth from the darkness to cause his flocks to prosper. It is his force that gives existence to all things, nothing remains hidden for him. . . . He causes all his servants to exist, all writings and divine words and that which he needs in the North. It is with the words that he penetrates into his dwelling; he issues forth at his pleasure through the magic spells. Thy unkindness brings destruction to the fish; it is then that prayer is made for the water of the season; Southern Egypt is seen in the same state as the North. Each one is with his instruments of labour, none remains behind his companions. None clothes himself with garments, the children of the noble put aside their ornaments. The night remains silent, but all is changed by the inundation; it is a healing balm for all mankind. . . . O inundation of the Nile, offerings are made unto thee, oxen are immolated to thee, great festivals are instituted for thee. Birds are sacrificed to thee, gazelles are taken for thee in the mountain, pure flames are prepared for thee. Sacrifice is made to every god as it is made to the Nile. . . . Come and prosper, O Nile, come and prosper."

When we consider that Egypt is literally the gift of the Nile, and that all the wonderful fertility of its land is owing to the inundation, we cannot wonder that the adoration the Egyptians paid to this god was second only to that paid to the great Sun-god Ra. At the same time, we can scarcely look upon this poem as

religious, it is a descriptive poem written in praise of the Nile by the scribe Ennana, of whose other work we possess one or two fragments. Ennana must have been a man with a true sense of the beauty of nature, and the rare gift of describing what he saw in poetical language. Perhaps the most striking part of this poem is the picture of all Egypt waiting for the inundation, the feeling of suspense, the fear that the fish might be destroyed, the putting aside of garments and of ornaments in preparation for labour in the fields, the silence of the night, and then the joy as the water is seen to rise and overflow the land, the "healing balm for all mankind."

It is specially worthy of notice that in this poem the Nile is said not to be "enticed by incantations," for "none discovers his retreat by means of a hidden spell," "he issues forth at pleasure through the magic spells." The Nile is perhaps the only deity that the Egyptians felt they could not influence by magic; the priests even acknowledged that the inundation was outside the region of their influence, a force that their spells were powerless to direct. This is a noteworthy exception to the universal Egyptian belief in the power of charms and incantations, which were able to constrain even the gods to work the will of man.

The belief in magic runs through the whole Book of the Dead, and is the dross which forms the alloy for that thread of pure gold, faith in immortality. Certain chapters, for instance, were written on amulets to preserve the soul from many and various dangers, and indeed, as we have seen, the book as a whole was itself a collection of magic formulæ to preserve both body and soul from destruction.

There is a good deal of Egyptian magical literature

not contained in the Book of the Dead; it is mostly of later date, and Renouf thinks that one of the essential differences between the earlier and the later formulæ is that instead of being supposed to be said by the deceased, they were as a rule said over him by others. Mystic language is generally employed, and the less intelligible it was the more efficacious it was supposed to be.

There are many charms against possession by evil spirits; perhaps the most remarkable of these is that found in a Theban tomb supposed to be the complaint of a husband, three years or more after he became a widower. His wife was a singer of Amen, and after reading the following complaint aloud to her in the tomb, he tied it on to her wooden statue. He does not state from what evil he is suffering, it may have been some illness, but whatever it may have been, he imagines it to have been caused by the "wise spirit" of his wife, who refuses to leave him in peace.

It was a common belief that disease and pain were often due to the intervention of some god or of some spirit who needed propitiation. The medical papyri of ancient Egypt continually bear witness to this fact; they contain recipes for the use of powerful drugs, drugs still used by the modern physician, but they are also full of formulæ for the use of charms. When the drugs were ineffectual, the priest-doctor would never acknowledge his ignorance; he attributed his failure to cure the disease to the work of some evil spirit, which could only be propitiated by some charm or incantation, the sale of which may have brought great profit to the temples.

This widower seems to have suffered more than

three years before he resorted to the desperate expedient of publicly accusing his deceased wife. He writes:*—

"What offence have I committed against thee, that I must come to this, the evil condition which I am in? What offence have I committed against thee, that thou must help against me?. For since I became a husband to thee, until to-day what have I done to thee that I kept secret? . . . When thou becamest my wife, I was a young man; I was with thee. I was promoted to offices of every kind and I was with thee; I never deserted thee. I never caused any grief to thy heart. I acted thus when I was a young man. When I was promoted to every great dignity of Pharaoh, I did not desert thee, saying: 'Let this be thine in common with me.' And whereas everybody who came to me saw me in thy presence, I never received anybody before knowing whether thou wouldst have anything to say to it, saying: 'I will act according to thine heart.' And now, behold, thou hast not gladdened my heart, and I must plead against thee, and people shall see the false from the true. For, behold, I commanded the captains of the bowmen of Pharaoh, also of his charioteers, and I, when they came to lie on their faces before thee, if there was in what they brought something good, I put it before thee; I never hid anything for myself. . . . And when thou didst sicken of the sickness which thou hadst, I went to the chief physician and he prescribed, and he did what thou toldest him to do. And when I went to follow Pharaoh to the South, whereas my wont was to be reunited with thee, while I made my stay of eight months, I never ate, I never drank in the way of a man. And when I reached Memphis I asked

* "The Wise Spirit of Onkhari," translated by Maspero.

leave from Pharaoh, and I did what they were doing to thee, I wept extremely with my people in front of my dwelling. I gave clothes and linen for thy embalming and I caused many clothes to be made, and there was nothing good I did not cause to be done to thee."

The belief in possession by evil spirits has lasted on to the present day, not only in Egypt but in the southern countries of Europe. The belief in the harmful power of the Evil Eye, for instance, is firmly rooted in the minds of the people. Maspero also mentions an amusing story of his travels on the Nile, when he was unable to persuade the native engineer on his boat that the engines were not possessed by some spirit that caused the water to turn into steam. The man had been to a European school, he had learnt his trade well and managed the engines perfectly. After some time the director of the arsenal put in a new system of engines, and the first time the engineer tried them, he nearly blew up the boat. When Maspero blamed him, he excused himself by saying that they had put in a new *afrit* (spirit) with the old one, and he had not yet got to know the new one. He soon learnt to work the engines on the new system, but every now and then all through the voyage he rolled a cigarette and threw it into the furnace to appease his new friend. Thus, in the present day, as in past ages, results of mechanical laws are to the Egyptian the work of living spirits.

These two examples, the one of ancient and the other of modern date, are only given as instances out of many that might be quoted, to prove how prone the mind of man has been at all times to believe in spirits and powers that are not of this world. To counteract the influence of any one who by magic art was using the

power of one of these evil spirits against him, the ancient Egyptian resorted to many expedients, one of the most common being to make an image of wax of his enemy and to melt it in the fire. In the 7th chapter of the Book of the Dead, which was intended to be said over a wax figure of a demon, we read: "O one of wax, who taketh captive and seizeth with violence, and liveth upon those who are motionless." Wax figures of gods and other personages were used both for ritual and unlawful magical purposes, and we read of a man condemned to death for making gods of wax, for the purpose of paralysing the limbs of men. This practice may be referred to in the Psalms, where it is said: "Like as wax melteth in the fire, so let the ungodly perish at the presence of God" (Ps. lxviii. 2). It was also a common custom in mediæval times to make a wax image of rival or of foe, which was slowly melted in the fire, in order to work harm to the original of the image.

Passing on now to the later chapters of the Book of the Dead, we find some that are numbered as chapters, which have been derived from other sources. For instance, the 171st chapter is similar to part of a Theban book called the Ritual of Amen and Mut; the 168th chapter belongs to the Book of Hades, the book that is pictured and inscribed in the royal tombs on the left bank of the river at Thebes; while the 180th chapter is part of a book called the Litany of the Sun, inscribed at the entrance of nearly all these tombs, and forming a sort of introduction to the Book of Hades, which is found within.

With the exception of the Book of the Dead, the Litany of the Sun and the Book of Hades are perhaps the most important of the religious writings of ancient

Egypt that have come down to us. They both probably date from the great Theban time of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, when the priests of Thebes exalted their god Amen to be lord amongst the gods under the name of Amen-Ra, and wrote hymns in his praise.

It is a well-known fact that when a nation rises to great political supremacy, a wave of enthusiasm stirs the whole heart of the people, and at the same time there often occurs a wonderful rise in literary and artistic power. Thus, in Egypt, when a powerful king like Rameses II. conquered the Kheta, a poet like Pentaur arose to sing of the glory of his victories; when wealth and riches flowed into the country, mighty architects were inspired to build the most marvellous temples the world has ever seen.

The Theban kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, who conquered a great part of the known world, were buried in tombs hewn out of the mountain in the desolate valleys to the left of the river. The long galleries and vast halls of these tombs were inscribed with hymns and texts imbued with religious and poetic feeling, showing that religion in Egypt also rose to its most sublime height at this time of national greatness.

Pap. No. 9900, *Brit. Mus.*

FIG. 40.—THE DECEASED BEFORE THE SOLAR BARK.

The Book of Hades is found in several of these royal tombs, and also on the beautiful alabaster sarcophagus of King Seti I., now in the Soane Museum. This book contains the description of the voyage of the Sun in his bark along a river

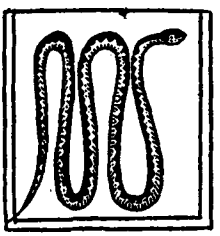
called the Uranes through the twelve hours of the night. The Land of Hades, through which this river flows, is represented like the nether-world of the 175th chapter of the Book of the Dead: "all abyss, utter darkness, and sheer perplexity." Though the long subterranean halls and passages of these Theban tombs may have been supposed to represent this future world of gloom, we must not necessarily conclude that the Egyptians imagined this unknown country to be really situated underground in the interior of the earth.

The Egyptian conception of this earth seems to have been that of a long, flat, spacious room with vaulted roof, upheld by four pillars and lighted by hanging lamps. A great river, bearing the bark of the Sun-god, encircled this world, and to the north was a vast chain of mountains, behind which the sun disappeared for the night. The unknown world hidden by these mountains is depicted in the Book of Hades, where we read that the twelve gods march through a gorge forming the entrance to the Tuat (the nether-world).

The Sun bark travels through the twelve divisions of this strange country, passing through the twelve gates guarded by great serpents, which open at the approach of the great Sun-god. This curious world is peopled by genii and spirits, who have only light for one hour out of the twenty-four, the hour that Ra spends in passing through their division of Hades. In the account of several of the divisions we read: "They cry to Ra; they lament to the great god when he rises above them and passes. A shadow envelopes them, and their cavern is shut upon them."

This land of Hades reminds us of the Inferno of Dante, but instead of the condemned of the Italian

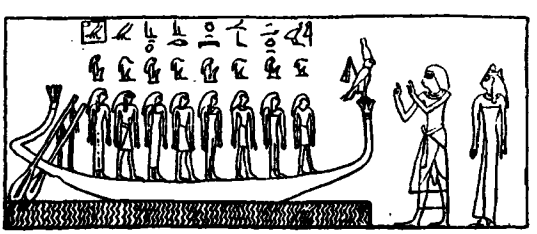
poem, we have the enemies of Light, of whom we read that they are deprived of power "from their arms to their heads; they are powerless"; they are doomed to be no longer in existence; their bodies are condemned to be burnt, their souls to be consumed. Apap, the great serpent, the personification of darkness, is constantly mentioned: "O impious, cruel one, Apap, who spreadest thy wickedness. Thy face shall be destroyed, Apap. Approach the place of torment."



Pap. No. I. Berlin.

FIG. 41.—APAP, THE GREAT SERPENT.

The inhabitants of this land of dread are all probably like the serpent Apap, enemies of the Sun-god, powers of darkness, cloud or storm, and not the wicked who have been imprisoned there for their sins. Nevertheless, the inmates of this Hades are supposed to be sufficiently human to receive food, which seems in some mystical way to depend on the offerings or oblations made for them on earth. The priests who profited by these



Pap. No. 9900, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 42.—THE SOULS OF THE DECEASED TRAVELLING WITH THE SUN.

offerings may very well have encouraged some ambiguity and uncertainty on this point. It is also

possible that they allowed the people to believe that the souls of some of the deceased travelling with the sun might be left behind in the various divisions, because they did not possess the necessary formulæ to go yet further with him.

We plunge into this curious world of the night, even at the present day, when we visit the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. On the walls, as we pass, great serpents seem to rear their heads as they guard the doors of the different divisions of this Inferno; the executioner stands with his knife ready to cut off the heads of those who offend against the king of Light, and the flames are ready to devour his enemies. We seem to see the great doors open for the Sun-god to enter, and to hear the songs of delight that greet his arrival. In the space of one short hour, however, the sound of the doors closing sends a wail through those echoing spaces, a despairing cry that seems to come from lost souls left in utter darkness until it shall please the Sun-god to return. The illusion was perhaps more perfect some years ago, when visitors were accompanied by the flickering torches of the Arab guides, than it is with the electric light of the present day.

To the ancient Egyptians the absence of light meant the absence of all joy. The sun was to them the source not only of light, but of life and of all good, and their hymns in praise of the Sun-god Ra breathe a true religious spirit, and a sense of worship and homage to one God, which we are perhaps accustomed to connect only with the worship of the Hebrews. In the pantheistic religion of ancient Egypt it is the Sun-god who creates everything, who sees that all he has created is good, and who fills all creation with his spirit.

At the entrance to the Theban Tombs of the Kings, the walls of which are pictured with the scenes described above, is inscribed the Litany of Ra, the outcome of the teaching of Heliopolis. Part of this litany has been incorporated into the 180th chapter of the Book of the Dead, and part is also closely related to the 127th and to the 15th chapters.

This Litany to the Sun is said in its title to be the "Book of the worship of Ra, in the Hidden World at the hour of the setting of the sun; that is, of the triumph of Ra over his enemies in the Hidden World. Whoso is intelligent upon the earth, he is intelligent also after his death." Then follow seventy-six stanzas, all of which begin with "Homage to thee, Ra, Supreme Power." Ra is praised as "the master of the hidden spheres, who causes the principles to arise, who imparts the breath of life to the souls in their place, who sends forth the plants in their season;" "the brilliant one who shines in the waters of the inundation;" "the light that is in the infernal regions;" "who sendeth forth the stars and maketh the night to be light;" "who maketh the spheres and creates bodies, the eternal essence who penetrates the empyrean, the master of the light who reveals hidden things." Ra is addressed as the only One, and is identified with all the other gods, his form or his spirit being in them.

After this praise of Ra, he is invoked on behalf of the king in whose tomb this litany is inscribed, in these words: "O Ra of the Ament, who hast created the earth, who lightest the gods of the empyrean, Ra, who art in thy disk, guide him (the king) on the road to the Ament, that he may reach the hidden spirits; guide him on the road that belongs to him; guide him on

the Western road, that he may traverse the sphere of Ament; guide him on the road to the Ament, that the king may worship those who are in the hidden dwelling; guide him on the road to the Ament. . . . Such as thou[c] art, such is the royal Osiris. Thy intellect, Ra, is his. . . . The king traverses the most secret sphere, he explores the mysteries contained in it. The king speaks to thee like Ra, he praises thee with his intelligence; the king is like the god."

The second chapter of the Litany of the Sun contains the worship of the king as Ra, and prayers for him in the nether-world. "The royal Osiris (the king) commands his enemies in heaven and upon earth by authority of all the gods and all the goddesses . . . because the royal Osiris is Ra himself, the great inhabitant of the heavens . . . he is powerful, Ra in the empyrean . . . he traverses the empyrean with joy, for he had struck Apap (the great serpent of evil). There is joy for thee, god of the horizon, Osiris king of the Ament; there is joy for thy triumphant spirit, for thou destroyest his enemies. He is brilliant, the spirit of Ra in the empyrean.

"Hail, Ra, give eyes to the royal Osiris; give him divine eyeballs, and may they guide the royal Osiris. Hail, Ra, give a heart to the royal Osiris; he traverses the earth, he traverses the world like Ra. Deliver him from the crocodiles . . . from the demons . . . from the cruel gods who pluck out hearts and who throw them into their furnaces. May they never do their work upon the royal Osiris; may they never put him in the royal furnaces, because Osiris is Ra. . . . The soul of Ra shines in his shape; his body rests amid the invocations which are addressed to him; he enters into

Pap. No. II., Leyden.

FIG. 43.—VOYAGE IN THE SOLAR BARK.

To face page 153.

the interior of his white disk, he lights the empyrean with his rays. . . . O Ra, place the royal Osiris in thy train. . . . Ra, the journeys of Osiris are thy journeys; Osiris makes thee rule over thy enemies; thou makest Osiris rule over his enemies by means of the great splendour which is the splendour of Ra in the empyrean."

The third chapter of the Litany of the Sun is a very short one; it consists of fifteen short invocations to the Sun-god Ra to "come to the king truly."

The fourth chapter is divided into three sections. Ra and the royal Osiris are supposed to be travelling together through the courts of the nether-world, and these prayers follow the king as he travels onward with the Sun-god. "O Ra, who art in the Ament . . . who art in the empyrean, deliver Osiris from thy conductors who separate souls from their bodies . . . may they never seize Osiris, may they never take him, may they never quicken their steps towards him, may they never put him in their places of torture, may they never cast their toils round him, may they never place him upon their altars, may he never tremble in the land of the condemned, may he never be lost in the Ament.

"The two gods speak to the royal Osiris; they rejoice on seeing him, this blessed perfect spirit; (they say to him) this is one of us. The gods speak to the royal Osiris; they rejoice when they see him—him, the splendour of Ra, . . . the supplicant Heset (one of the halls personified as a goddess) addresses the guardians who watch over the doors, who devour souls, and who swallow the shades of the dead; when they approach them, they are led by them to the place of destruction; O guardians, who watch over your doors, who swallow souls and devour the shades of the dead; when they

approach you, you lead them to the place of destruction; O allow this blessed, this most holy spirit to be in the dwelling of the Akher (the lower region); it is a spirit like Ra, glorious like Osiris." We read further how the gods speak to the royal Osiris, extol his strength, give him their protection, and send him their spirit of life. They say to him: "He is brilliant like the spirit of the horizon that is the dwelling of Ra in the heavens." They communicate their words to him, and by their authority they give him power, so that "he opens the door of heaven and earth like his father Ra."

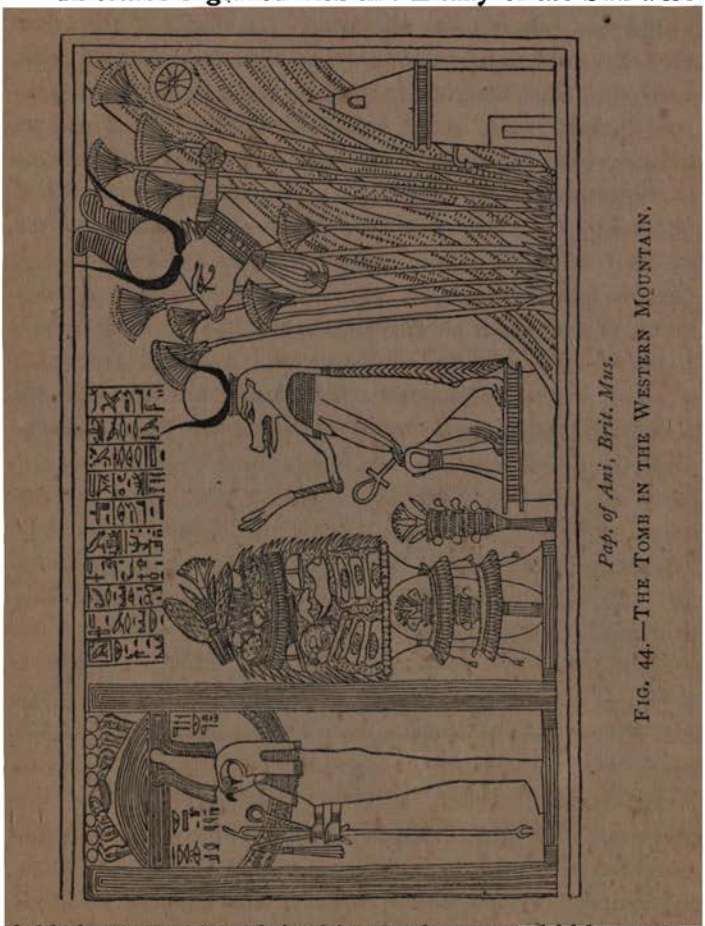
Part of the second section is addressed to the glorious spirits who are with the royal Osiris in the other world. They are said to stretch out their hands towards him and lift him up; they are often invoked thus: "Praise him, ye blessed, exalt the royal Osiris, ye blessed. Rejoice over him as over Ra, extol him like Osiris . . . Look at him, ye blessed; let him receive a perfect intelligence . . . O ye gods, O ye blessed who precede Ra, and who court his spirit, do to the royal Osiris as to Ra, tow him (in the boat) with you in the same way that you conduct Ra . . . the royal Osiris is Ra himself" . . .

The third section is addressed to the Hidden World itself: "Ament, hide my corpse; good Ament, hide my body. O resting place, let me rest in thee . . . O Ament, open thy arms to him. O protectress, cover his body . . . Hail, the royal Osiris worships thee . . . open thy mysterious doors to him. Hail, he worships thee, open to him thy hidden spheres, for he has his dwelling in the heavens like Ra" . . .

The rubric follows: "When this book is read, he

who reads it purifies himself at the hour when Ra sets, who rests in the Ament of the Ament, when Ra is in the midst of hidden things completely."

In tombs engraved with this Litany of the Sun were



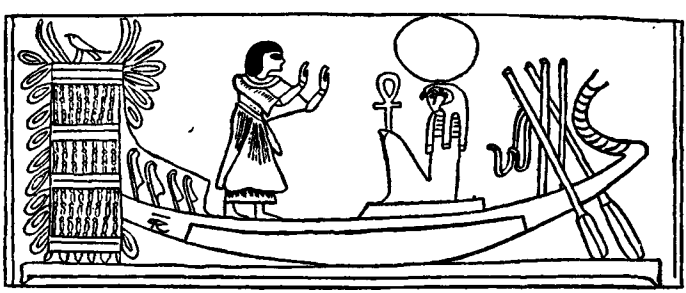
Pap. of Ani, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 44.—THE TOMB IN THE WESTERN MOUNTAIN.

laid the mummies of the kings; they were hidden away in the heart of the mountain, yet notwithstanding this

care, and in spite of these prayers, this earthly, hidden world did not avail to protect their bodies. It is not only in modern days that these tombs have been plundered; very soon after the burials of the great Theban kings had taken place, we read of robbers of the royal tombs, who feared neither earthly punishment nor the curses of the departed in the pursuit of the riches that were buried with these royal mummies. The priests hastily carried off many of them to a safer hiding-place in the mountains, where they were found not many years ago and removed to the Cairo Museum. There, at any rate, they are protected from robbers, though not hidden as they prayed to be, for all the world can gaze on the faces of those great kings for whom the Litany of the Sun was written.

The same pantheistic spirit that we find in the Litany of the Sun is also met with in the hymns of Ra



Pap. of Ani, Brit. Mus.

FIG. 45.—ADORATION OF THE SUN-GOD.

of about the same period; these hymns, however, are couched in more joyful strains, as they praise the sun at his rising.* We read: "Adoration to Ra every morning, thou wakest in beauty, thou watchest in triumph,

* "Hymn to Ra-Harmachis," translated by Maspero and Lushington.

lord of the horizon. O blessed one, beaming in splendour, towed by the mariners who are of the unresting gods, sped by the mariners of the unmoving gods. Thou comest forth, thou ascendest, thou towerest in beauty. . . . In gladness are the mariners of thy bark; their heart is delighted, Lord of Heaven, who hast brought joy to the divine chiefs; the lower sky rejoices, gods and men exult, applauding Ra on his standard, blest by his mother Nut; their heart is glad. Ra hath quelled his impious foes, heaven rejoices, earth is his delight, gods and goddesses are in festival to make adoration to Ra-Hor, as they see him rise in his bark."

"Arise, O Ra, from within thy chamber. Strong is Ra, weak the foes; lofty is Ra, downstricken the foes; Ra living, his foes dead; Ra full of meat and drink, his foes ahungered and athirst; Ra good, his foes evil. . . . Ra has despoiled Apap. . . . Courier of heaven outstripped by none, to illumine earth for his children, uplifted above gods and men, shining upon us."

Another hymn to Amen-ra * is in the museum at Cairo; it is written in verse on a papyrus of the time of the nineteenth dynasty, but as this purports to be merely a copy, the original may be much earlier. This hymn is perhaps one of the most beautiful, from a poetical point of view, of all that has come down to us in Egyptian literature. It may well be compared with verses out of the Hebrew psalms, that are instinct with the same love of Nature and Nature's God. In the Egyptian hymn we read: "Praise to Amen-ra . . . the good god beloved; giving life to all animated things, to all fair cattle;" "Chief of all the gods; Lord of truth,

* "Hymn to Amen-ra," translated by Goodwin.

Father of the gods; Maker of men, Creator of beasts; Lord of existences, Creator of fruitful things; Maker of herbs, Feeder of cattle; The one maker of existences, from whose eyes mankind proceeded; of whose mouth are the gods. Maker of grass for the cattle, fruitful trees for men; causing the fish to live in the river; the birds to fill the air; giving breath to those in the egg; feeding the bird that flies; giving food to the bird that perches; to the creeping thing and flying thing equally; providing food for the rats in their holes; feeding the flying things in every tree."

Not only is Ra good to the beasts of the field but also to all men; we read: "Hail to thee, Ra, Lord of truth; whose shrine is hidden. Lord of the gods. . . . Listening to the poor who is in distress; gentle of heart when one cries unto him. Deliverer of the timid man from the violent; judging the poor, the poor and the oppressed; Lord of wisdom, whose precepts are wise; at whose pleasure the Nile overflows; Lord of mercy, most loving, at whose coming men live; opener of every eye; proceeding from the firmament; causer of pleasure and light, at whose goodness the gods rejoice; their hearts revive when they see him."

Thus is the Sun-god good to both man and beast, and with one voice they praise him: "Hail to thee for all these things; the One alone with many hands; lying awake while all men sleep, to seek out the good of his creatures; . . . homage to thee in all their voices; salutation to thee for thy mercy unto us; protestations to thee who hast created us. Hail to thee, say all creatures; salutations to thee from every land; to the height of heaven, to the breadth of earth, to the depths of the sea; the gods adore thy Majesty; the spirits

thou hast created exalt thee . . . who raises the heavens, who fixes the earth. Maker of beings, Creator of existences; Sovereign of life, health, and strength, Chief of the gods. We worship thy spirit, who alone hast made us. We whom thou hast made (thank thee), that thou hast given us birth. We give to thee praises on account of thy mercy to us."

The following verses out of the Psalms may well be compared with the above extracts out of this wonderful hymn to Amen-ra: "For all the beasts of the forest are Mine: and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills. I know all the fowls upon the mountains: and the wild beasts of the field are in My sight" (Ps. l. 10, 11). "Thou visitest the earth, and blessest it: Thou makest it very plenteous. The river of God is full of water: Thou preparest their corn, for so Thou providest for the earth. Thou waterest her furrows, Thou sendest rain into the little valleys thereof: Thou makest it soft with the drops of rain, and blessest the increase of it. Thou crownest the year with Thy goodness: and Thy clouds drop fatness. They shall drop upon the dwellings of the wilderness: and the little hills shall rejoice on every side. The folds shall be full of sheep: the valleys also shall stand so thick with corn, that they shall laugh and sing" (Ps. lxv. 9–14).

"He sendeth the springs into the rivers: which run among the hills. All beasts of the field drink thereof: and the wild asses quench their thirst. Beside them shall the fowls of the air have their habitation: and sing among the branches. He watereth the hills from above: the earth is filled with the fruit of Thy works. He bringeth forth grass for the cattle: and green herb for the service of men. . . . He appointed the moon for

certain seasons: and the sun knoweth his going down. Thou makest darkness that it may be night: wherein all the beasts of the forest do move. The lions roaring after their prey: do seek their meat from God. The sun ariseth and they get them away together: and lay them down in their dens. . . . O Lord, how manifold are Thy works: in wisdom hast Thou made them all; the earth is full of Thy riches. So is the great and wide sea also: wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts. . . . These wait all upon Thee: that Thou mayest give them meat in due season" (Ps. civ. 10–14, 19–22, 24, 25, 27). "The Lord upholdeth all such as fall: and lifteth up all those that are down. . . . Thou openest Thine hand: and fillest all things living with plenteousness" (Ps. cxlv. 14, 16). "Who helpeth them to right that suffer wrong: who feedeth the hungry. . . . Who covereth the heaven with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth: and maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains, and herb for the use of men; Who giveth fodder unto the cattle: and feedeth the young ravens that call upon Him" (Ps. cxlvi. 6, and cxlvii. 8, 9).

"For He shall deliver the poor when he crieth: the needy also, and him that hath no helper. He shall be favourable to the simple and needy: and shall preserve the souls of the poor" (Ps. lxxii. 12, 13).

"O praise the Lord of heaven: praise Him in the height. Praise Him, all ye angels of His: praise Him, all His host. Praise Him, sun and moon: praise Him, all ye stars and light. Praise Him, all ye heavens: and ye waters that are above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the Lord: for He spake the word, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created" (Ps. cxlviii. 1–5).

Notwithstanding the likeness between these extracts from Egyptian and Hebrew sources, we must remember that the Egyptian religion was essentially pantheistic, and never rose to the magnificent monotheism of the Hebrews. The Egyptians were always worshippers of many gods, although those gods might all be identified with each other, and might pervade all nature with their being. Even when their religion rose to its highest point in the adoration of the Sun as the one source of all good, the position of Ra, the great Sun-god, differs essentially from the position of the Jehovah of the Hebrews. In the Hebrew religion neither before nor after death is there ever any identification of the Creator with the created being, whilst in the Egyptian religion they are more or less merged the one in the other; thus the Creator and those whom He has created stand in an entirely different relationship in the two religions.

Without doubt the religion of the ancient Egyptians was also greatly obscured by much superstition, and by gross animal-worship; nevertheless, the fact that they believed in one Supreme Creator, makes us realize the truth of St. Paul's words to the Athenians, when he found the altar to the Unknown God: "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that He is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though He needed anything, seeing He giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the

bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him, though He be not far away from every one of us; for in Him we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts xvii. 23–28).

In conclusion, though this Book of the Dead was written for the ancient dwellers on the Nile, yet it may also be said to concern us, in that it mentions the unborn generations of mankind. The Egyptians, like many other nations of antiquity, believed in the pre-existence of souls, who before their birth into the children of men were supposed to circle round the sun with the glorified souls of the departed. The deceased addresses them when he says: "O ye recent offspring of Shu, who dawn after dawn is possessor of his diadem at sunrise; ye future generations of men, my springing forth is the springing forth of Osiris" (Chap. 46), and "Let the company of gods be silent, while the unborn generations converse with me" (Chap. 124). Both Thoth, the God of wisdom, and Ra, the great Sun-god, are supposed to bring these souls of the unborn into being; we read: "I am Thoth, whose action is not in vain, when he settles what is in the sky, the earth, the Tuat, and when he gives life to the future ones" (Chap. 182). "Glory to thee, O Ra, Lord of the mount of Glory. Hail to thee who purifiest the generations yet unborn, to whom this great quarter of heaven offereth homage. . . . The unborn generations of men give him glory, as to one who standeth without ever resting" (Chap. 130). "O rising Sun . . . at whose will millions spring forth, as he turneth his face to the unborn generations of men" (Chap. 134).

Thus is the old world linked with our own times; the same sun whom the ancient Egyptians adored still

shines on us to-day, and is the type of Him who came to be the Light of the World, while the words of the scriptures that are still read in our ears find, as we have seen, many a parallel in the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Pap. No. III. 89, *Louvre.*

FIG. 46.—THE SOUL REVISITING THE DECEASED.

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